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21 July 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1567

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CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Romanians Report on Commemoration of Anniversary of Polish Review (Ion Mamina; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 78).....	1
International Activities of Romanian Party Institute (Ch. Unc; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 78).....	3
Briefs	
PZPR Delegation Leaves CSSR	7
Mongolian Envoy Departs CSSR	7
GDR-CSSR TV Agreement	7

ALBANIA

National Character of Literature, Culture Stressed (Nasho Jorgaqi; NENTORI, Mar 78).....	8
---	---

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs	
New Algerian Envoy Received	20
Minister Returns From GDR	20
CSSR-Jordanian Trade Agreement	20
Slovak Lecturers Seminar	20

EAST GERMANY

NVA Political Head Assesses GDR African Policy (Ernst Hampf Interview; VOLKSARMEE, Jun 78).....	21
--	----

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Aid, Training Programs for African Nations Described (HORIZONT, No 26, 1978).....	28
Economic Aid Policy, by Dieter Albrecht Labor Federation Training Programs, by Juergen Moeller	
HUNGARY	
Roundtable Discussion on Situation of Gypsies Held (NEPSZABADSAG, 28 May 78).....	34
Religion's Changing Roles in Socialist Society Discussed (Jozsef Poor; PARTELET, Jun 78).....	41
POLAND	
Sociopolitical Education Lagging in Higher Schools (Jerzy Godula; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 23 Jun 78).....	49
ROMANIA	
Participation of Minorities in Building Socialism (Gheorghe Unc; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 78).....	54
Continuity of Existence of Romanian State Discussed (Dinu C. Giurescu; ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 78).....	70
Report on Symposium on Formation of United Party (ANALE DE ISTORIE, Mar-Apr 78).....	82
YUGOSLAVIA	
Biographies of New Federal Executive Council Members (VJESNIK, 18 May 78).....	104

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIANS REPORT ON COMMEMORATION OF ANNIVERSARY OF POLISH REVIEW

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 78 pp 176-177

[Article by Ion Mamina: "Warsaw -- Scientific Symposium Occasioned by the 20th Anniversary of the Journal Z POLA WALKI"]

[Text] On 31 January 1978, a scientific symposium was held in Warsaw in celebration of the 20th anniversary of the journal Z POLA WALKI, published quarterly by the Institute of the Workers' Movement in the Higher School of Social Sciences under the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. Also participating in addition to historians from the host country were guests from similar journals in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, Hungary and the USSR.

The symposium was opened by Wladyslaw Zastawny, rector of the Higher School of Social Sciences. Zanna Kormanowa, professor in the Institute of History of Warsaw University, presented the main report. In his report, he made an analysis of the activities of the journal Z POLA WALKI, pointing out in particular the evolution in its contents and problems.

Taking into account the fundamental requirements for construction of a developed socialist society in Poland, both the report and the speeches by the Polish historians, as well as the conclusions drawn by Janusz W. Golebowski, director of the Institute of the Workers' Movement, from the proceedings of the symposium, emphasized the fact that the journal had been given special goals in the publishing field in respect to intensifying studies on the history of the Polish workers' movement and the PZMP so as to reflect their full significance in the political life of the nation, in respect to approaching contemporary history, and in respect to studying revolutionary struggles in other countries.

Foreign guests at this symposium spoke on the concerns and future goals of their own publications.

Ion Mamina, the representative of the journal ANALE DE ISTORIE of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the Central Committee of the PCR, extended warm, comradely greetings to the editorial

staff of the journal Z POLA WALKI and wishes for new success in the work which they were undertaking. After this, he presented a report in which the main objective was to outline the way in which the journal organically incorporated the history of the workers movement in Romania with the history of the nation. It was pointed out that this methodological approach made it possible in the pages of ANALE DE ISTORIE to bring out clearly the fact that the party of the working class had successfully fulfilled its historic mission by proceeding in its action from profound understanding -- in the light of the ideals of scientific socialism -- of the coordinates of the nation's history and the concrete, specific social-economic and political realities of Romania and by serving the interests, goals and ideals of the people among whom it was born. Directing the activities of the journal in this way made it possible to convey in all its greatness the history of the working class for over a century and the history of its party for eight and a half decades. The journal was able to show the experience gained in the great class struggles during the rapid advancement of the revolution and the construction of socialism and the profound sentiments of patriotism and international solidarity consistently found among Romanian workers, both of which conferred a character of legitimacy on the growth of the leading role of the working class and its communist party.

A reception was held for the participants in the symposium on the evening of 31 January. Participating in this reception was Andrej Werblan, secretary of the Central Committee of the PZMP. On 1 February, Polish historians and guests of the Polish journal were received by the chairman of the State Council of Poland, Henryk Jablonski.

Overall, this scientific symposium offered the possibility of a useful and fruitful exchange of experience on current and future concerns of the journals Z POLA WALKI and ANALE DE ISTORIE.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF ROMANIAN PARTY INSTITUTE

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 78 pp 177-178

[Article by Gh. Unc: "On the International Activity of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies of the Central Committee of the PCR in 1977"]

[Text] In 1977, the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies of the Central Committee of the PCR carried on a wide range of scientific activities of an international nature. Just as in the internal scientific activity of the institute, its foreign relationships were marked by great historic events -- the centennial anniversary of the achievement of complete independence by Romania and the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party.

Noteworthy among the manifestations occurring as a part of the centennial anniversary of the achievement of full national independence by Romania was a scientific session dedicated to this event and having as its theme: "The Secular Struggle of the Romanian People for National Independence." This session had international participation and was organized by a number of central institutes in the capitol, among which was the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies. The proceedings of the session were held on 4-6 March 1977 in Bucharest. Participating in the session by means of reports were guests of our institute from other countries and representatives of similar institutes in the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic, Italy, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic and the USSR.\*

In order to popularize the secular struggle of the Romanian people for national independence and sovereignty in other countries, the researchers of the institute have published articles and studies in various journals in other countries. Such articles have appeared in the Yugoslav Federated Socialist Republic, Italy, Spain, Venezuela, and other countries.

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\*A report on the proceedings of the session was published in ANALE DE ISTORIE No 3, 1977, pp 169-171

Also for the purpose of popularizing the historical significance of Romania's achievement of full state independence, the researchers within the institute participated in expositions in the capacity of lecturers of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in the Bulgarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic and the USSR.

The researchers of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies in turn participated with reports and lectures in scientific sessions commemorating anniversaries organized by similar institutes in other countries, with international participation: "60 Years Since the Socialist Revolution in Russia in October, 1917" (Moscow, 13-14 November 1977); "The 30th Anniversary of the February 1948 Revolution in Czechoslovakia" (Prague, 6-8 December 1977).

The development of collaborative contacts with similar institutes in other countries also occupied a significant place in the external activities of the institute during the past year. In following this course, during 1977 collaboration agreements with other institutes for a period of five years, whose time limits had expired, were extended and supplemented. For example, as a result of a working visit made by comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies, to the Hungarian People's Republic (16-26 Jun 77) at the invitation of Heinrich Vass, director of the Party History Institute of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, a statement was signed on 23 June in Budapest on extending the collaboration plan between the two institutes. The document provided that the collaboration plan was to be extended for a period of seven years, with the provision added that if one of the two parties did not request cancellation of the agreement at least one year in advance it would remain valid for a period of an additional seven years without any formalities. In the same spirit, in Bucharest on 19 July a supplement and extension was signed for the collaboration agreement between the director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies and Roberto Bonchio, director general of the Italian publishing firm "Editori Riunite" in Rome. As a result of the working visit made to the German Democratic Republic (25 Aug - 3 Sep 77), comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi, together with Gunter Heyden, director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, signed an agreement on 1 Sep 77 in Berlin concerning a supplementing and extending of the collaboration agreement between the two institutes. In addition to the signing of the document mentioned, the meetings between the director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies with the heads of the institutes mentioned also provided a useful opportunity for exchanges of experience in reviewing the good relationships established on the basis of the bilateral agreements concluded between them.

Against the background of the collaboration agreements existing between our institute and similar institutes in other countries, during 1977 a number of meetings of an international character were held. For instance, in the period 14-24 July, Victor Kazimirovici Skorupa, section chief in the journal VOPROSI ISTORII KPSS in the USSR, made a visit to exchange experiences with the journal ANALE DE ISTORIE. Between 31 October and 14 November, Vasil Vasiliev Savov,

researcher at the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories at Sofia, made a documentation visit to the institute. During the same period, numerous foreign visitors arrived in our country from other research institutes and higher educational institutions and made visits to the institute for consultations and documentation.

The researchers of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies presented reports, papers and lectures in a number of international scientific conferences organized in other countries. Among these we mention our participation in scientific meetings organized on the following subjects: "Problems of Methodology in Researching the History of the Workers and Communist International Movements" (Warsaw, 26-27 Apr 77); "The Growth in the Leading Role of the Marxist-Leninist Party Under the Conditions of Building Developed Socialism and Communism" (Moscow, 7-9 June); "The Second International and the Colonial Problem" (Budapest, 28-29 June); "Conference of Party Archives Representatives from Socialist Countries" (Budapest, 3-5 October); "The Third International Session of Marxist Studies, Organized by the Lelio Basso Foundation" (Rome, 5-9 October); "Conference of the Heads of Marxism-Leninism and Party History Institutes" (Moscow, 13-14 November). The representatives of the institute also formed part of the delegations of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences of the RSR and participated in various international meetings held in Berlin, Budapest, Moscow, Ulan Bator and other locations.

Seen over all, the participation of the institute's researchers during 1977 in international scientific meetings, as well as in the capacity of lecturers in other countries, was reflected in about 35 exhibits and reports which were highly regarded in foreign specialist circles.

One conclusive proof of the international contact intensification of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies was the fact that in 1977 the institute was visited by more than 60 foreign guests -- militants of communist and workers parties who desired to know more about the activity of the institute and to be informed about problems in the history of the Romanian Communist Party, historians, museum curators, archivists, doctoral candidates, and others. The space allowed for this report does not allow a listing of all the foreign visitors who came to the institute in 1977. Nevertheless, let me mention some of the names: Toshio Sakaki, member of the presidium of the Japanese Communist Party, director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party; Prof Karl Erdman of the German Democratic Republic, chairman of the International Committee of History; Academician Isaac Israelevici Mint of the USSR, K.M.Smogorozewski, member of the editorial staff of the Encyclopedia Britannica; Li Sang-song, deputy director of the Revolutionary Museum in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Dr Joseph S. Drew, professor at the New York University; Prof Dr Iosif Mirnici, head of the History Department of the University of Novisad, Yugoslavia; and others.

The guests were received by comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the institute, who spoke to them on the overall scientific activity of the institute and its research priorities in the field of history of the nation and of the Romanian Communist Party.

In continuing, the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies will also work to deepen collaborative relationships with scientific institutes in this field in other countries.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

PZPR DELEGATION LEAVES CSSR--The PZPR Central Committee study delegation led by Bodan Gawronski, head of the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department, returned home on 29 June. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 78 p 2 AU]

MONGOLIAN ENVOY DEPARTS CSSR--The CSSR minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek, received on 30 June the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey, Mehmet Haluk Sayninsoy, and the ambassador of the People's Republic of Mongolia, Dzandangiyn Enebish, in connection with their ending their tour of duty. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 78 p 2 AU]

GDR-CSSR TV AGREEMENT--A long-term agreement was signed in Berlin yesterday on mutual cooperation between the television of the GDR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The agreement was signed by Heinz Adameck, chairman of the State Committee for Television, and Jan Zelenka, central director of Czechoslovak television. [Text] [Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 2 Jul 78 LD]

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## ALBANIA

### NATIONAL CHARACTER OF LITERATURE, CULTURE STRESSED

Tirana NENTORI in Albanian Mar 78 pp 132-145

[Article by Nasho Jorgaqi: "The Ideological Struggle in the Thirties About the Question of the National and Popular Character of Literature and Culture"]

[Text] Closely examining the process of the ideological struggle that developed during the thirties, we will note that an important role played by the problems of the national and popular character of culture in general and of our literature in particular. These problems constitute a knotty question whose solution and interpretation occupied a large part of the intellectual and creative forces of the period. It concerned the character and physiognomy of Albanian culture and art in the conditions of a relatively independent national life, and there is no doubt that all the classes and the various strata of Albanian society were concerned about this. Further, the problem was presented in its two major manifestations both in the theoretical and practical aspects. It had to be theoretically explained and solved as a philosophical, aesthetical, and literary matter; but, on the other hand, the creative practice of the times set forth a series of acute ideological and artistic problems.

If during the Renaissance and after, up to the beginning of the thirties, the problem of the national and popular character was acknowledged as a whole, or set aside, as dictated, thus, by historical conditions, now it appeared in the forefront as an imperative necessity that had to do with the content and physiognomy of the culture and art of the nation. However, under conditions when the Renaissance had passed into history and a fierce struggle was developing in the bosom of the Albanian society, the content and physiognomy of our national culture and art were not homogeneous and common for all the classes and strata of society. In the circumstances of the feudal and bourgeois order which dominated in Albania, the slogan of a single national culture, as taught by Lenin, was a lie of the clergymen and of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, the importance of the problem of determining the national content and physiognomy of our culture and literature in that period is obvious. This was a complex problem that comprised a range of issues with a character not only aesthetic and literary, but also ideological and political.

And this was the reason that the examination and explanation of this problem attracted the thought of the representatives of the democratic forces and of reactionary and conservative forces, and stirred up a fierce ideological struggle and discussion.

The placing on the agenda, in the 1930's, of the problem of determining the content and physiognomy of the national and popular character of our culture and art came as a result of some important factors: first of all, because of the historical conditions in which the country was liberated and there existed an Albanian state, independent of its unilateral class character. In the circumstances of a national life, the Albanian society was interested in the character of its culture and literature. However, the national consciousness was no longer that of the Renaissance; it had undergone important changes, it had been developed and enriched and, above all, had gained a definite class content. The ruling classes were carrying in vain the banner of national unity of the Renaissance. An impassable abyss separated them from the people. In fact, it was mainly the working masses who constituted the national awareness. Therefore, their representatives would ask, as they did ask, that these essential changes that had taken place in the Albanian history and life be reflected in the concept of the national and popular [character].

Second, in the thirties, because of the oppression and exploitation of the people, and of the intensification of the hostility against the ruling classes, the resistance of the masses grew, the democratic movement was further strengthened, and the workers and the communist movement was organized. In these circumstances the materialist and Marxist thought helped clarify some of the basic concepts in the mentality of the progressive people of the time and, particularly, of the communist elements. Questions such as the existence of the classes and the existence of the classes struggle in society, the materialistic concept regarding the people, and the correct understanding of the relation between the masses and the heroes, these and other ideas, helped the representatives of the democratic and revolutionary forces to express new ideas, different from the official thought on a cardinal problem, such as that of the national and popular character of culture and art.

Third, in the thirties, progressive thought rose up in defense of the national culture and art, against the danger of the fascist cultural aggression and "the barbaric and vulgar wind of cosmopolitanism", as was designated by the democratic press. True Albanian opinion, which was protecting and creating an art and culture essentially national, opposed the open door policy of the Zog regime and the cosmopolitanism of the ruling classes. Such a situation could not but be an influencing factor for discussing and better determining the national and popular characteristics of our culture and literature.

Almost all the press, particularly, the periodical press, was concerned with the problem of the national and popular character of our culture and literature in the thirties. The most varied opinions on this problem were

expressed sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly. In fact, this was an ideological debate that continued for many years and which, once more, revealed the opposing class positions and viewpoints existing in Albanian intellectual life.

Closely analyzing this aspect of the ideological struggle, one has no difficulty in drawing a clear line of demarcation between democratic and revolutionary thought and reactionary and conservative thought. In the concepts about the national and popular character all the classes manifested their interests and opinions. The ruling classes could not remain indifferent to such a situation. The clerical and bourgeois thought became the faithful expression of their interests by trying to solve this problem from regressive positions, to give to it a conservative and falsified content, and to envelop the truth with a nebula of "theories" and "arguments" borrowed from the arsenal of the old world.

In the forefront of the reactionary and conservative thought, dealing with the debate on the national and popular character, was the Catholic clergy which, as Comrade Enver said, was composed "of people without a fatherland". The clerical "scholars" and writers dealt in detail with this problem in their organs, particularly, in the reviews HYLLI I DRITES and LEKA and in special books and publications. They posed as authentic experts and specialists in the history and spiritual world of the Albanian people, of the psyche of the Albanian, and of his traditions, and attached to themselves the label of discoverers and appreciators of the national patriotic traditions. However, even though they were trying to wear the garment of the "scholar" and of the "love for the fatherland", this did not conceal anti-national aims, the fact that they were the carriers of the obscurantist policy of the Vatican and, in general, of the regressive thought connected with foreign interests.

Making judgements from a foreign point of view, it seems that the Catholic clergy devoted special attention to the problem of the national characteristics of the Albanian people, their traditions, and their spiritual and material values. You get this illusionary impression from the various articles, the so-called studies undertaken by the specialists, and the preoccupation with collecting national treasures precisely in these spheres which served their devilish theses and aims.

But, in reality, the clerical thought on the national and popular [character] in the history and life of our people, and in our culture and art, was profoundly reactionary and conservative; it had to do with anti-scientific concepts. The clergy placed obscurantist concepts on the foundation of the national and popular [character]. Thus, it proclaimed the absurd idea that religion stands above national awareness. "Before you are an Albanian, you are a Catholic", was preached to the humble believers by the clergymen. They did not hesitate to assert that the Albanian people were not yet worthy and capable of living independently, that they were in an underdeveloped stage. "He who is not able to keep the rein has no right to freedom" ("The

national plan and morality" LEKA, No 12, 1935). Freedom in the national life of the people is evaluated from regressive positions; one should not open the eyes of the people, the people should sleep, and they should be kept in a state of eternal sleepiness, which, according to them, is one of the national characteristics. The clerical concept about the fatherland was very narrow; it was characterized by provincialism and patriarchalism. For the clergy, Albania was mostly reduced to the Northern mountainous region. "The highlands was the center of the Albanian tribe and nation". By falsifying history, they affirmed that the villages and cities either came after the highlands or have been spiritually bastardized by civilization. In the book "The National Epopee of the Albanian People", the clergyman Fulvio Cordiniano limits the history and national life of our people and sees it mainly in the patriarchal organization of the Northern tribes, in the primitive life of the Albanian; because, the Albanian has lived in the darkness of the caves, remote from the civilized world and that only in the mountains does there exist "the purest type of the Albanian race". Cordiniano sees the national character in the life of our people as a purely ethnological concept, considering the Albanian people as an independent race, with national characteristics composed mostly of qualities of the soul and ethical traits, which, according to him, were in continual opposition with the Slavs. Elogizing to primitivism and patriarchy, he reached the conclusion that only the close and strict tribal life is the cradle of the national values.

In the concept of the national [character], the clerical scholars beside religion, race, patriarchalism, and primitive life, also included the vendetta by elevating it to an atavistic custom of the highlander and, thus, they claimed was being something spontaneous deriving from the nature of the Albanian people themselves.

The ideologists and specialists of the Catholic clergy, assuming the role of discoverers and propagandists of the national characteristics of the Albanian people and of their spiritual riches, also dealt with the problems of language, folklore, and ethnography. But, we must say, that in all these fields they began from profoundly conservative positions by pursuing determined political aims, on the basis of an anti-scientific and, in essence, anti-Albanian, methodology.

Thus, their practice and principles in the field of language, the narrow localized and diverging trends, the patriarchal concepts, and linguistic naturalism and anachronism caused a great harm not only to the process of formation of our common literary language, but also hindered national unity.

In amassing and studying the Albanian folklore, the work of the Catholic clergy pursued the path of their political interests, on the one hand, by bringing to light, first of all, that part of the folklore that had features foreign to the nature and morality of the people, such as superstitions, religious prejudices, and the norms of the feudal morality (swaggering, mercenariness, conservatism, and so forth), or by recording the moments of

the northern folklore that revived hostility toward the neighbors, and, on the other, in the creative practice. By falling into the field of folklorism, into its formal imitation; they considered the creative genius of the Albanian people in the field of folklore as an instinct inspired from above.

In the field of ethnography, the Catholic clergy showed a special enthusiasm for collecting and arranging the codes and customary rights of the mountains by propagandizing and treating with fetishism the anachronistic and primitive forms of the tribal organization. Under the pretext of discovering the allegedly Albanian traditions, they did not fail to investigate and propagandize the history and geneology of the feudal families in the Middle Ages and those of the Northern tribal chiefs, and to write the chronology of the spreading of the Catholic faith and of the churches in Albania. They confined the entire popular art mainly to the old trades of the Middle Age at the time when the Church and religious ideology were dominant.

Clerical literature was the product of religious ideology, bearer of the regressive ideas, conceived and written on the basis of classic-type methods and of reactionary romanticism, and limited because of regionalism and of narrow idiomatic language. It was completely detached from contemporary life, from social problems, with a limited theme generally deriving from mythology, antiquity, the history of religion or from those moments of Albanian history that served the political aims of the clergy.

The bourgeois thought of the time stood on the same front with the clerical thought opposing social progress and progressive ideas. The decadent bourgeois view points were the bearers of the interests of the classes in power, which, in essence, expressed the hatred which they had for the people and their contempt for the national and popular culture and art; they personified the official policy which had nothing to do with the true interests of the nation, the open door policy toward the West from whence came the scented airs of decadent cosmopolitanism and of occidentalism.

It is known that the Albanian bourgeoisie has been a weak bourgeoisie with unfulfilled historic tasks: its nationalism, they said, was more feudal than bourgeois and, therefore, it was never in a position to create its own ideology, an original intellectual life, and a literature with true national values.

In the thirties, too, which might be called its most relatively stable period, the Albanian bourgeoisie never managed to manifest its individuality, but revolved like a satellite, sometime of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and sometimes of the feudal class. In this period the bourgeois thought, which presented itself under the form of some liberal currents, such as that of "new Albanianism", and the "youth" current, and so forth, also dealt with the problems of the national characteristics of Albanian life and culture. In the foreign aspect, it seems that they were trying for an ideology allegedly purely Albanian for all classes; they were, as they said, for an "Albanian mankind", which, according to them, did not exist and had to be created by the intellectual force. The disciples of the neo-Albanian

theorizations thought that the history and life of the Albanian people were a vacuum, an emptiness which had to be filled with foreign ideas and civilizations from the East and West, especially, from the latter. They revolved in the circle of the reactionary, philosophical, and sociological ideas borrowed from the strongholds of bourgeoisie, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Bergson, Kurkheim, fascism, and of the cosmopolitan theories of the time. However, these efforts had nothing of essential and original; they were simply imitations and borrowings without any real value, far from the aspirations and psychology of the people, without any connection with the objective conditions and demands of the Albanian reality.

The main characteristics of these theories were cosmopolitanism and eclecticism, detachment from the living reality, and the lack of knowledge and refusal of the true values and characteristics of our nation.

The thoughts of the bourgeois theoreticians on national history and life had no scientific basis at all; their concept of the national [character] was an ethnical and chauvinistic notion; they were purely idealistic; they did not take into consideration material conditions. According to them, ideas bring progress to the nation. "Spiritual progress brings material progress with itself", declared decadent writer Ernest Koliqi to the new literary men.

The national character and popular spirit, reasoned these theoreticians, are the product of the distinguished creators and not the reflection of the life of society and the history of the nation. Regarding this, they took the Renaissance as an example. For the bourgeois critic Vangjo Nirvana (Vangjel Koca), it was not the people who were the cradle of the literary spiritual movement that accompanied the Renaissance, but the strong individuals. Vangjo Nirvana says: "The Renaissance movement was a strong, individual artistic movement in a society that had neither ideals nor debates." Therefore, he attributes the national characteristics of our Renaissance mostly to some individuals and completely denies social and historic conditions; whereas, Koliqi presents all the contribution of the great poet of the Renaissance, N. Frasheri, to the national character of our literature, with the "mystical feelings" that the poet gave to it.

The theoreticians of neo-Albanianism extend these idealistic points of view up to their own time. According to them, a true national life and thought did not exist in Albania; actually, the Albanian society has no ideals and, this was because the Albanian society was not formed and was not mature and, as a matter of fact, it has no national physiognomy. It is understood, that here, it was a question of the ideals of the dominating classes, which they represented as the ideals of the entire nation and which, in fact, either did not exist or were passing through strong crises of sterility. Thus, they proclaimed that they should replace the lack of a national ideal with a borrowed ideal, that the intellectual life of the nation should be made up of borrowed ideas and thoughts artificially adapted to the conditions of the country.

In these view points and reasonings it is not difficult to discern not only a lack of knowledge of Albanian history and reality, but also a nihilistic and contemptuous attitude toward the national values. They are, indeed, the spiritual slaves of reactionary philosophies and of foreign cultures.

In their concepts on the national character, the bourgeois theoreticians of the thirties rejected the decisive role of the people; they did not recognize the working class and the peasantry, the basic factors for the progress of the nation; they considered the elite as the directing class, a cultured and restored class that had no connection at all with the "mass". Such a contemptuous and nihilistic attitude could not but lead them to thoughts and conclusions which completely excluded the true national character of the literature and culture of the country. They entrusted the intellectual elite with the special mission of the allegedly national cultured creation; with its intellectual work, the elite would give a physiognomy to the life, culture, and art of the country, it would give to it an Albanian color.

For this purpose they presented the idea that two literatures should be created: one literature for the elite, works which the people might not understand, and another literature allegedly for the people which will have a didactic and entertaining character. By the popular character of literature, they understood mainly the folklore and ethnographical manifestations, the description of traditions and of old and patriarchal customs, and the discovery of exotic nooks that stir the interest of foreigners, as if literature must be transformed into a manual or tourist guide. On the basis of the models of the decadent literature of the West, under the label of an allegedly Albanian literature, Ernest Koliqi composed works that poetized and made idyllic the life of the Shkoder bourgeoisie, presented anachronistic ways of life and manners; he was looking for bright colors by sometimes remaining on the surface of the phenomena and sometimes giving a reactionary and conservative treatment of the problems of the times.

Thus, like the clerical theoreticians, the bourgeois theoreticians also examined the problem of the national and popular character in literature, in the description of life in the highlands considering it as "the marvelous island of the Albanian spirit and of autochthonous feelings", and in the reflection of the regressive tradition of superstitions and mythology in the mountains where life is depicted as a mixture of the fate of the people with the face of mythological beings. It is precisely in the patriarchal milieus that one can discover those figures of personages which are the "eternal creations of universal literature" and, in order to illustrate this thought, they present as an example the fact that these figures can only be incarnated in the chiefs of the tribes, in their backward thoughts, in the "primitive feelings".

All the clerical and bourgeois theories and concepts, expressed in Albanian intellectual life in the thirties aim at disarming the people spiritually, at minimizing their national values, at bringing confusion in the ranks of the intelligentsia and of the creative people, and at removing the true art from the national and popular foundation. It is understood that these

results in Albanian thought and art served the enemies of the people and of the national interests. As a matter of fact, we might say, that this ideological baggage of the ruling classes was one of these premises that opened the path to the fascist occupation in Albania.

However, the theories of the clerical and bourgeois theoreticians on the problems concerning the national and popular character of culture and literature met the resistance and opposition of the democratic and revolutionary thought which was born not only as a counterbalance toward the reaction, but also as a direct expression of the people's aspirations, of the changes which had taken place in the national awareness, and of the political awakening of the masses. This whole process that was developing in the bosom of the people and of the progressive forces can not be understood without the existence of the democratic movement and, especially, of the workers movement, and of the life-giving influence exerted by communist ideas.

The communist elements and progressive intellectuals were the ones who became the bearers and spokesmen of the most progressive thought of the times in Albania. It is the merit of the generation of the young writers of the thirties who, anxious about the fate of the Albanian literature and its correct direction and guidance, also devoted their attention to the problems connected with the national and popular character of Albanian literature and culture. They set forth important theoretical theses and gave valuable thoughts, developed polemics with their ideological adversaries, and debated on a generally healthy basis the essential need that our literature and culture be national and popular in content and image. The major platforms of progressive thought were the well-known organs, such as RILINDJA, FLAGA, A.B.C., and especially, the magazine BOTA E RE... which "...became a powerful weapon in the hands of the communists against the regime in power and against the wounds of the Albanian society."\* The articles and polemics by Dhimiter Shuteriqi, and Nonda Bulka, Andrea Varfi, and Misto Treska, and the thoughts expressed by Qemal Stafa and Kristaq Tutulani constitute a contribution of great value made by the progressive forces to the guidance and explanation of a range of cardinal problems of a theoretical and practical character for Albanian literature and culture. In this chain of problems, the matter of understanding and interpreting the national and popular [character] in the conditions of the feudal and bourgeois order also was an important link. The principal merit of progressive thought rests in the fact that it presented and treated this matter generally on a materialistic basis. Their concepts on the content and physiognomy of literature were broad and correct if we take into consideration the contemporary level and thought. At the base of the national [character], without any doubt, they place the people, the majority of the nation, because it is precisely the people who determine the national characteristics, the true image of the nation. "Speaking about the people...--Dhimiter Shuteriqi writes,--literature truly becomes national". For the progressive literary men the concept about the

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[Footnote: \* "The History of the Albanian Workers Party," Tirana 1968, p 38]

people is clear, differentiated. "The duty of the writer,--they claim,--is to feel sorry for the farmer, shepherd, employee, artisan, and the proletarian; to feel sorry for the people". Opposing the ideological theories that ignore the people and make absolute the role of the individuals, which glorify it, and which arbitrarily proclaim the creative individualities as the main determinants of the national characteristics of a people, they correctly present the image in literature of the relations between the masses and the heroes in history. "In order to be national, admits progressive thought, literature does not deal only with the heroes, because they also live resplendent in history, that is, without literature; this (literature) must deal with the people of the nation".

The new writers of the thirties comprehended and presented the national and popular character of literature and culture of a country, first of all, as a matter of content and with the content they kept in mind the life and history of the nation, the interpretation of the soul, and the reflection of the aspirations of the people. This is a materialistic position that opposed the idealistical, mystical, and metaphysical opinions of the clerical and bourgeois theoreticians, which either excluded content from the concept of the national character or expressed themselves in a cloudy or abstractive manner about it.

The progressive thought, the content of the national [character] in the different periods of history was a concrete social and historical category, independent from the conditions and needs of society. Such a position rightly led the new writers to examine the question of the national characteristics not as a tabu, but as a process of development that evolves and changes, that loses in one direction but wins in another direction. Thus, in the new historic conditions, when changes had taken place in the national consciousness of our people, it was quite natural that some new features should be manifested in the sphere of the Albanian literature and culture that had to do, first of all, with the content of the national [character], because, as Nonda Bulka wrote, "literature is the expression, and the living, profound, and true mirror of social milieu."

This is why the progressive men of literature stressed the difference between the two periods--the period of the Renaissance and their own period. "Our needs of yesterday,--they affirmed,--differ from those of today". And there were these needs and requirements of the contemporary society, with a concrete social and historical content, that determined the new features of the national literature and culture. If during the Renaissance the struggle for independence gave to literature the national features and thus, as a progressive thought admitted, "not because of personal motives, but because of social ones", in the period of independence there were the struggle for social liberation, the acute social problems, and the revolutionary ideas that dictated and created these new characteristics of our national literature and culture.

The progressive literary men of the thirties tried to see the national content and characteristics in the contemporary reality, in the present

day of life of the nation. For them, the national [character] comes from the past, the traditions, and the patriotic spirit of the Renaissance, and also from the present and from the great social problems of the times. There are these vital problems--the pressure, poverty, and lack of confidence in the future that make the national life and, of course, produce these characteristics of the contemporary art and culture. From this, came the task to be assigned to the national literature, the writers that "we must deal with present day life...which is so rich in material that nothing can be richer" or "we want people who will live with the present, people with vitality and with a view to tomorrow."

The progressive thought connected the national [character] not only with the need for reflecting the reality, but also with the fact that, in order that the present life be correctly and properly reflected, the only path was the realistic guidance of literature. It proclaimed--"this can be achieved by writing the truth--only the truth leads to progress...--we must try to be realistic, as much as it is possible--only thus will the spirit of the nation shine nationally."

In contrast to the individualistic and regressive concepts of the clerical and bourgeois theoreticians of the time, a progressive thought saw the life of the nation divided into south and north, into village and city, and into plain and mountain, and not in a partial and metaphysical way. The new literary men tried to see the nation and the national values as a whole, conditioned by objective social and historical factors. Their expression in national life was not concentrated in the backward areas, the conservative milieus, and the social forces which were in the minority or were going off the stage of history. They boldly proclaimed that "we want a progressive nation," and did not see the real life of the nation in the remote highlands, in the tribal life of the highlands, but in the living forces of society, in these social and political trends which dictated the needs of the nation in development.

Therefore, they demanded that in reflecting the spirit and reality of the nation one should choose "the directions which are the most valuable for this people" and, reasoning further, they added that "the greatest need a people might have...is this: that we might describe their life, that we might describe it with the greatest fidelity...that we might write the things that their life dictates."

For them the description of the life of the people must be carried out with objectivity through the formed national awareness. Subjectivism and one-sidedness affect the truth. "His (the writer's) feelings and possibilities must not interfere to spoil the beauty and truth of the description of the life of the people, but must become one with it...".

The defenders of democratic thought proclaimed that "we need popular writers... for works for the people and about the people". They elevated the popular character of literature to an important principle without which true national

literature cannot be comprehended. In this matter they polemicized severely with the reactionary and conservative theoreticians who preached one literature for the elite, while, on the other hand, despising the people, they spoke about a "lesson giving and entertaining literature" for the people.

The progressive theoreticians did not see the popular character of literature in the simplification and banalization of art, but in the reflection of the life of the people and of their soul, of the spirit and mind, of finding and presenting reality from a position and vantage point connected with the aspirations, philosophy, psychology, and the manner of the artistic perception of the world. As a matter of fact, there also were efforts to give the popular character of literature a more concrete class content by putting "the energies of the workers and peasants" into this concept," as Andrea Varfi specified. The demand "to create a folk theater with folk artists and with a public of workers" was also of interest.

In matters of form, progressive criticism maintains a correct attitude by seeing it in direct relation with and dependent upon the national and popular content. It did not detach these two basic components of art, as was done by the clerical and bourgeois criticism in a metaphysical and tendentious manner. It treats the national and popular elements of the form as the expressions of a social and historical content and as the means which organically personify and accompany life in art. Therefore, progressive thought strongly stressed the necessity for democratizing the form, the clearness and the ability of art to communicate with the masses. With regard to language, the thoughts and practice of the new writers were far removed from the individualistic trends and diverging concepts. They pursued the best traditions of the Renaissance and were in favor of a simple language, understandable to the people, and demanded that "clear Albanian" be written without being "civilized" by foreign ways and words. Also, the new writers did not consider the elements of the form from the field of folklore and ethnography as foreign and decorative manifestations, but as an organic part of the national and popular character of literature.

The problems which the progressive forces of the thirties presented theoretically and tried to answer were not easy. On the contrary, they were complicated and delicate, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the representatives of the democratic and revolutionary thought were mostly young in age and in experience and had to do with ideological adversaries who were skilled and diabolical. On the other hand, all the matters they raised were not completely clear for these new authors, because, as is known, their outlook was in process of formation and because the pressure of the bourgeois ideology was not without recurrence in a number of them. This is how one can explain the overestimation of the role of literature and of the writer in society, some pragmatic manifestations, detachment from the actual life of the people on some occasions, the attitude, not always critical, toward Western art and culture, and so forth.

Nevertheless, these shortcomings did not prevent the new writers from struggling on sound positions on the basic issues, and from correctly presenting and guiding the issue of the national and popular character of Albanian literature and culture in the thirties. With regard to this point of view, they opened new paths for Albanian thought. The study of this period helps our later Marxist thought to be better comprehended--the thought that was born and forged in the conditions of the popular revolution and the socialist construction under the guidance of the party.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

NEW ALGERIAN ENVOY RECEIVED--The CSSR minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek, received on 30 June in Prague the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria in the CSSR, (Nourredin Delleci), in connection with the forthcoming presentation of his credentials to the CSSR President. During their talk they discussed some questions of further developing CSSR-Algerian relations. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 78 p 2 AU]

MINISTER RETURNS FROM GDR--The minister of trade of the Czech Socialist Republic, Antonin Jakubik, returned on 30 June from his working visit to the GDR. In Berlin he acquainted himself with the construction of modern shopping centers, hotels and wholesale warehouses and discussed with Gerhard Briksa, GDR minister of trade and supply, intensification of mutual cooperation, above all in the exchange of consumer goods, between the domestic trades of both countries. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 78 p 2 AU]

CSSR-JORDANIAN TRADE AGREEMENT--A long-term trade agreement, which is the first contractual agreement between the CSSR and Jordan in the field of economic relations, was signed in Amman. The CSSR will primarily export textiles, glass, rolled materials and engineering products. The CSSR traditionally imports Jordanian phosphates, the import of which is to continue to increase. In the field of economic cooperation, Czechoslovakia is to take part in the industrial development of Jordan by building some industrial capital investments units, for instance electric power plants, cement and ceramics works and tanning enterprises. A mixed commission, which is to control the fulfillment of the agreement, was established within the framework of the agreement. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jun 78 p 7 AU]

SLOVAK LECTURERS SEMINAR--A seminar attended by 300 lecturers from the central Slovakia CPSL regional, district and enterprise party committees as well as by lecturers from other institutions was organized yesterday in Banska Bystrica. The deputy chief of a CPCZ Central Committee Department, J. Janku, briefed the lecturers on the current problems of the international communist and workers movement. The CPCZ Central Committee lecturer, R. I. Broz, presented a report about the CSSR foreign policy and topical problems of international relations. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jul 78 p 2 AU]

EAST GERMANY

NVA POLITICAL HEAD ASSESSES GDR AFRICAN POLICY

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 22, Jun 78 signed to press 29 May 78  
pp 6-7

[VOLKSARMEE interview with deputy director of NVA Political Main Administration Lt Gen Ernst Hampf: "A Trip to Africa for Comradeship-in-Arms and Solidarity"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade lieutenant general, you have been a member of the GDR military delegation which visited several African states and which was headed by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politbureau of the ZK [Central Committee] of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and minister of national defense. What was the object of this trip?

[Answer] The Ninth Party Congress of the SED was oriented toward strengthening antiimperialistic cooperation with the nationally liberated states and the national liberation movements. Our party attaches great significance to this cooperation as a constituent of the international class struggle with imperialism. And with regard to the liberated countries of Africa in their work of construction, in the defense of their independence, in their struggle for equality, full sovereignty and the unrestricted achievement of the right of self-determination for their people these countries to an increasing degree are consciously turning to alliance with the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist fraternal states. It was the goal of our trip to the Guinean Republic, the People's Republic of Angola and the People's Republic of the Congo to support the struggle for social liberation and for national and economic self-determination as well as to strengthen the links and solidarity of the GDR with the African peoples. The minister for national defense declared to our African friends: "Our visit has the object of continuing this friendship and cooperation among our peoples, states and armies in the interest of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism on all continents and of deepening this cooperation by new actions and by the exchange of our common experience."

The trip of the military delegation of the GDR fully encompassed this intention. We are certain that the conversations, the exchange of experience and the results of negotiations led to a strengthening of the relations

between the GDR and the countries which we visited and reinforced the comradeship-in-arms between the National People's Army of the GDR, the combat forces of Guinea, the FAPLA [expansion unknown] People's Army of Angola and the National People's Army of the People's Republic of the Congo.

In addition, during intermediate stops in Algiers and Tunis, there were discussions with leading political and military figures of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria and of the Republic of Tunis; in these discussions questions of mutual interest were examined and emphasis was placed upon the need for mutual cooperation in the struggle for peace and disarmament, against colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid. The right of peoples to sovereignty and self-determination was supported and emphasis was given to our common desire that their should be a further deepening of cooperation in the most varied areas.

[Question] What would you describe as the most permanent impression left by your trip?

[Answer] We were personal witnesses of the profound change which has come over the African continent. There are already a full dozen of states which are not merely content with having been able to throw off the colonial yoke and grasp political independence. They have also declared war against the exploitation system and engaged themselves in carrying on revolution with socialist goals. In so doing they are to an ever greater degree adopting Marxism-Leninism as the lodestone of social progress. We have been able to convince ourselves that Marxism-Leninism is being applied under the concrete circumstances of the individual countries.

It is in itself a moving experience to see in the streets of Luanda, in the fields of a tropical countryside or in the lodgings of our African comrades-in-arms pictures of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the motto "Proletarians of All Lands Unite!" and to hear cheers for the Soviet Union, for Cuba, for the GDR and for our general secretary Erich Honecker.

Without a doubt that must enrage and terrify the former colonial masters and those imperialist powers which today are whipping up special exertions to "reestablish lost areas of exploitation and hegemony or to maintain their positions by neocolonialist means"--as outlined by Erich Honecker at the Eighth ZK Plenum. Until yesterday they still had the belief that black Africa would remain forever a safe retreat for colonialism, a domain for the exploiters and a military strategic base against socialism. Such a black Africa no longer exists. This we observed day after day.

How widely the idea has been propagated of fighting for social progress and of overcoming the imperialist heritage, how great the enthusiasm for defending the revolution was something which we all experienced in our encounters with workers, peasants and soldiers, with the representatives of the parties and of the mass organizations.

We were deeply impressed, for example, by the scene in which in the port city of Mocamedes a delegation of the young people's and Pioneers' organization of Angola presented us with a hearty welcome. Young Pioneers with the red neckerchief like the Lenin Pioneers in the Soviet Union and the Thaelmann Pioneers among us with the same Pioneer greeting and ever ready for peace and socialism--such things must naturally make any comrade's heart beat faster.

Representatives of the youth of free Angola vowed to contribute to the defense of revolutionary accomplishments. "We were born in the struggle, we are the new generation and we shall experience the victory of socialism in our country," they declared in their greeting to our military delegation.

No matter where we went one thing was apparent: the African revolutionaries are aiming at a socialist future for which they are now already laying the groundwork. This is an exciting process, a process which, to be sure, is extremely complicated and takes place under diverse development conditions and against which very many resistances are opposed but which in the final consequence will be victorious.

All the members of our delegation experienced vividly what Erich Honecker expressed in his address to the first district secretaries in the words:

"On three continents the peoples are already constructing the new socialist society and also on the fourth socialism is beginning to find a firm footing.... Africa has become a continent whose peoples are making a significant contribution to the progress of humanity and to further change in international power relationships."

This is indeed so. In some African states revolutionary development has continued at a rapid tempo, especially in the recent past. We saw before us a continent undergoing fundamental change. That is a process of truly historic magnitude.

Each of the three countries of black Africa which our delegation visited naturally has its own special characteristics. But they have one thing in particular in common: in the revolutionary process which has seized Africa they are in the front ranks. Despite all imperialist attacks they successfully continue their progressive course.

[Question] Surely it was not just by chance that you mentioned the revolutionary spirit of the youth?

[Answer] Naturally not. We found it simply wonderful that in countries which for centuries have been kept in colonial slavery, in brutal suppression and ignorance the young generation has chosen Marxism-Leninism as the guideline of their thinking and acting. In black Africa the elan of youth is combined with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the only scientific world view. For this reason enthusiastic attention was given to the

words of our minister delivered to the soldiers of the combat forces of Guinea in Camp Alpha Yaya, to the FAPLA People's Army of Angola in the Huama Garrison and in the training center of the National People's Army of the People's Republic of the Congo; in these words he expressed his certainty that the future belongs to young people who are inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and who are prepared to defend the achievements of revolution. This enthusiasm promises successful development in the progressive national states in which the young generation, as among us, takes an active share in the building and protection of revolutionary accomplishments and feels itself linked with us in every way.

The members of the combat forces which we visited declared their thanks for our fraternal assistance in their hard struggle; this they declared to us their comrades-in-arms in the socialist fraternal states, among them especially the Soviet and Cuban comrades as well as our own. Our delegation was asked to convey hearty battle greetings to all soldiers of the national people's army in conjunction with wishes for further successes in political and military education training.

[Question] How does the visit of the military delegation fit into the relations which bind the GDR with the Republic of Guinea, with the People's Republic of Angola and with the People's Republic of the Congo?

[Answer] Consistently with its policy of solidarity with the antiimperialist struggle of the peoples the GDR is making a significant contribution toward strengthening the alliance between socialism and the revolutionary movement in Africa. Our political, economic and military relations with a number of countries of the black continent are multiplying increasingly. In the years 1977 and 1978 there were very many political contacts with African revolutionary political figures with the first rank among these contacts being occupied by the meetings of the general secretary of the ZK of the SED and chairman of the State Council, Erich Honecker, with representatives of African parties and states.

This foreign policy activity of our party and of our state also includes the trip of the military delegation headed by Army Gen Hoffmann, member of the Politbureau of the ZK of the SED and minister for national defense.

It has been possible to connect this visit with the close and friendly relations extending far back into the past. In Conakry the state president Sekou Toure emphasized and Premier Minister Beavogui recalled that 20 years before, 2 days after the declaration of independence, it was the GDR which signed the first state treaty with Guinea, a treaty regarding economic aid at a time when the imperialist powers were attempting to throttle the just proclaimed Republic of Guinea economically. In Brazzaville there was still fresh in memory the fruitful state visit which in the previous year President Yhomby-Opango conducted to the GDR. And we appreciated the fact that the People's Republic of the Congo was one of the very first African countries which had established diplomatic relations with the GDR, although at

that time such a step gave rise to blackmailing maneuvers on the part of the FRG and on the part of other Western states. In the People's Republic of Angola President Dr Agostinho Neto emphasized the traditional relations of antiimperialist solidarity between the MPLA-PdA and the SED as well as between the people of Angola and the GDR.

He placed a high value upon the visit of the military delegation of the GDR as an expression of continuously expanding cooperation which extends back into the beginnings of the MPLA liberation struggle.

Of the many moving declarations to confirm friendship between the GDR and progressive Africa an example is provided by the words of the Minister for National Defense of the People's Republic of Angola Commander Carreira:

"During all the long years of our liberation struggle we have always been united to the people, the party and the government of the GDR by the closest relations. On the hard road of the liberation struggle we were always conscious of the material aid of the GDR. We obtained much that was provided by the comrades of the GDR. We also always had the political and diplomatic support of the GDR. But the greatest aid to us was the example at all times given to us by the GDR in the struggle against imperialism. At the borders of the GDR there rages the ideological battle between imperialism and the forces of socialism and progress. The fact that the GDR resisted all blackmail maneuvers and provocations of imperialism has been a great example to us."

Similar statements were made by the Minister for National Defense of the People's Republic of the Congo Col Sassou-Nguesso as well as the Minister of the People's Army of the Republic of Guinea Alafe Kourouma. This shows that our republic--with its national people's army--enjoys high respect among the progressive forces of Africa. This is also shown by the high degree of appreciation with which our African friends responded to member of the Politbureau and Minister for National Defense Comrade Gen of the Army Heinz Hoffmann. His life of struggle as a communist, as an active fighter against imperialism from his youth on, as a member of the International Brigade in Spain, at the side of the Soviet Union in smashing Hitlerite fascism and in leading functions of party and government, especially in the area of national defense, is well known in liberated Africa. His personality, his political and military knowledge, his understanding of the political, economic and military development problems on the African continent, the way in which he discussed the policy of our party and the way in which he conducted the negotiations left their mark upon the work of our delegation and were of decisive importance for the success of the trip and for the strengthening of the comradeship-in-arms of our fraternal armies.

[Question] What impressions did you receive of the struggle of the peoples and of the combat forces of the Republic of Guinea, of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Congo against imperialism?

[Answer] If one could reduce everything to a common denominator resulting from the many impressive encounters and visits in factories and associations, in troop units and in training facilities then I must give special emphasis to the spirit of combat of the peoples against the imperialist aggressors and against the forces of the counterrevolution--the readiness to strike for freedom.

As is well known these countries are repeatedly subjected to imperialism attacks. Wherever monopoly profits begin to become shaky imperialism without scruple turns on its military power apparatus to secure its political interests and at the same time its military strategic positions. A further proof of this is the massive intervention of NATO forces in the internal conflict in Zaire. No matter what excuses may be marshaled by the intervention forces the fact remains that in the Zaire Province of Shaba, the region of Africa which is richest in cobalt, diamonds and copper deposits, what really concerns the multinational monopolies is their simple interests of profit and exploitation, for the maintenance or reestablishment of proimperialist power relationships.

The same was also true of the attack by mercenaries in 1970 upon the Republic of Guinea and in the murderous attack to which the first president of the Congo, Marien N'Gouabi, fell victim last year. The same is true of continuing military actions against the People's Republic of Angola of which we were actual witnesses in the southern part of the country.

It is well known that shortly before our arrival South African parachute troops had perpetrated a criminal blood bath 250 km deep in Angolan territory. We also learned that since the beginning of the people's republic not a day has passed without armed provocations by the country's enemies. Our minister sharply condemned the criminal invasion of the People's Republic of Angola by the Soldateska of the South African racist regime. His words were given enthusiastic attention when he said: "The lessons of history tell us that the forces of progress will triumph--no matter how great the difficulties and no matter how criminal the activities of the aggressors." In the long run imperialist power politics can succeed neither in Africa nor anywhere else in the world. Even today in Africa the prospects of imperialism are limited. The Soviet Union, Cuba and the other socialist countries help the peoples of the younger states and their armies to defend independence and to protect their vital interests.

[Question] And so it would appear, would it not, that the people's armies of these countries must sustain a struggle which is by no means an easy one?

[Answer] They must at all times be fully combat ready. The spaciousness of Africa and the long boundaries of what are in part sparsely settled regions favor enemy provocations. In addition a number of NATO states, racist regimes and hired gangs have for a long time repeatedly been poking up the coals of conflict and have at their disposal highly trained forces equipped with modern weapons. On the other hand for the liberated states the building

up of their armies is a difficulty which must be dealt with simultaneously with the solution of many complicated problems involved in the conquest of that backwardness in all areas which has been the legacy of colonialism.

Taking all these difficult circumstances into consideration we had to be impressed by the already achieved level of political education and military training and efficiency of the troops. We observed marine gunnery exercises with sea and air targets as well as artillery exercises; observed the training of motorized infantry and armored units; airplane pilots demonstrated for us their mastery of Soviet military technique; parachute troops displayed their skill; we familiarized ourselves with areas of special training. All in all we were convinced that the soldiers of the armies which we visited, their commanders and political commissars are striving with revolutionary zeal to improve their political and military knowledge and capabilities. We departed from them with the certainty that much is being done to defend the accomplishments of their countries and to defeat the imperialist attacks upon progress in Africa.

What must also be emphasized is the striving to apply the experience gained by the Soviet Army. A problem which is not an easy one. Let us take Angola as an example. The people's liberation army does, it is true, have at its disposal an ample tradition of fighting against the Portuguese Colonial Army but that was essentially a partisan battle which took place almost exclusively with hand weapons. The Angolan comrades drew attention to the fact that conversion to the requirements of modern national defense with a hard-hitting army and corresponding weapons is a process which cannot be carried out in a few months.

Nevertheless, the young armies must be ready every day to enter into battle. They master these tasks thanks to their own determination, but also thanks to the self-sacrificing efforts of comrades, especially of Soviet and Cuban comrades. Whether in Angola or the other countries, whether in the area of economics, of national education or of national defense--everywhere Soviet and Cuban specialists were at work helping our African friends. In an officers' school of the Angolan People's Army, for example, we had a moving encounter with Soviet and Cuban teachers and advisers who are there communicating their abundant experience.

Everywhere it was repeatedly verified that it is close union in battle and comradeship-in-arms with the socialist armies which in the future, too, can form a solid basis for the common antiimperialist struggle, for the continuance of the revolution with socialist orientation.

As for our solidarity with the armies which we visited, our minister for national defense gave this assurance: "In your heroic struggle to establish your sovereignty and independence, your struggle against imperialism, racism and neocolonialism we shall always stand at your side. In friendship, in firm comradeship-in-arms and in indestructible unity we are united in this alliance with the great Soviet Union and the other socialist states."

## EAST GERMANY

### AID, TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR AFRICAN NATIONS DESCRIBED

#### Economic Aid Policy

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 26, 1978 signed to press 19 Jun 78  
pp 5-6

[Article by Dr Dieter Albrecht, deputy chairman, State Planning Commission:  
"The GDR's Effective Cooperation with New National States of Africa"]

[Text] In the international class conflict between socialism and imperialism, the struggle for changing economic relations and overcoming obsolete trade regulations has intensified. This new phase in international relations is significantly conditioned by the inevitabilities in socialist development at a world scale and by the liberation struggle of the suppressed and dependent peoples.

The political map of Africa shows how in a historically brief period colonial empires disappeared and new national states have emerged which are struggling for their total independence. With great enthusiasm these peoples are now struggling for their economic liberation and for the elimination of old colonial structures while they are defending themselves against the neocolonialist designs of the international monopolies and economic groups. In his Politburo report to the eighth session of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker emphasized: "There the imperialist powers are especially eager to recapture their lost areas of exploitation and domination or to hold their positions by neocolonialist means."

The road to political and economic independence thus is very complicated. It brings in many traditional and new kinds of difficulties and is multi-layered.

In cooperating with the young African national states, the GDR takes the current situation into account as well as long-term developmental trends. The political, economic and cultural relations of our Republic with the young independent African national states are marked by the revolutionary processes of national-democratic development in those countries and the anti-imperialist alliance relations resulting from them. That holds true

for the countries with a socialist bent as much as for those going through a capitalist development. In shaping our relations with the young African national states--as the Ninth SED Congress resolved--we let ourselves be guided "by further deepening the GDR's economic and scientific-technical relations with the developing countries. Thereby the GDR contributes to the strengthening of economic independence and to the industrialization of these countries and at the same time creates possibilities for expanding imports of economically important raw materials and finished products from those countries."

#### The Close Connection Between Politics and Economics

What is new and characteristic of the economic and political relations with the developing countries, however, follows from the use made of political relations all around. The close connection of politics and economics forms the basis of the all round cooperation the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community of states carry on with the nationally liberated African states. The main point here is that the political and economic independence of the young national states, their complete sovereignty, is obtained and maintained. The progressive forces' extensive support provides for the consolidation and stabilization of the noncapitalist way and for the defense against internal and external counterrevolution.

A higher grade of cooperation is achieved by the construction of important industrial projects, agro-complexes, industrial and agricultural cooperation, the use of new technologies in industry and agriculture, the implementation of infrastructure projects, and the training and advanced training of national cadres by the GDR. Long-range deliveries agreed upon to the GDR of raw materials, semifinished and finished products, foodstuffs and luxury items and so forth assure their own national products of secure sales. These are stable trade and economic relations of a new type, based on mutual trust, meant to serve the long-range development of a national economy. Such cooperation, taking account of the partner's interests, and this manner of a more effective use of bilateral economic potentials devoted to large economic tasks make possible a real and concrete and more rational use of international division of labor.

#### Vivid Debate About Cooperation

These economic policy principles and goals exist in unity with the political and diplomatic tasks. The party and government delegation tours taken recently through several African countries reflect the close interchange between politics and economics in shaping these GDR relations with developing countries. Such visits provide significant experiences about how a higher qualitative level of economic relations with these countries was achieved that also satisfied GDR interests. What is special about such high-level negotiations is that the exchange of views about problems of international politics and bilateral relations includes economic policy relations as a major subject of discussion.

These bilateral efforts, through the conclusion of agreements, especially those that aim at deepening and expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation, assume a legal, constitutional authority.

#### Berrouaghia--One Among Many Examples

In Berrouaghia, Algeria, the GDR built an efficient casting and fitting combine on a high scientific-technical level, for instance. Thanks to the active participation by national cadres in the construction of the plant, their speedy familiarity with the production process, and the thorough training and advanced training given to Algerian workers, foremen and engineers by GDR specialists, the Algerian state was able to take over the management of this modern industrial complex within a brief period. The Algerian working people are taking pride in being able fully to operate this production complex, which is of great importance to the country's petroleum and natural gas extraction. The Algerian government leadership has been highly appreciative of that this casting and fitting combine in the Atlas Mountains was constructed so successfully and started operating so fast. It is being regarded as a model for creating industrial enterprises in young national states.

With other young national states likewise, such as Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and Libya, the GDR has concluded agreements on comprehensive cooperation in the various fields of the economy, including public health, education and culture. These long-term agreements and their economic policy complexity form the real foundation for planned cooperation over longer periods. This--with all the dynamics in the development under way--insures stability, continuity and consolidation of the growth processes for both partners.

#### Joint Economic Commissions and Mixed Commissions

Problems arising in the practical implementation of the agreements, necessary amendments and precisions, and further accords going into detail are dealt with by the partners at regular intervals, especially by the joint economic commission and mixed commissions working under the direction of government officials. Their activities serve to deepen their systematic cooperation on the levels of the ministries and competent institutions as well as of the combines and enterprises. It insures both a permanent connection between central organs and economic operations units and the purposeful direction and implementation of projects agreed upon. The experiences gained through joint projects encourage a rapprochement and mutual understanding in the practical implementation of the tasks. This is the way to develop in a socialist manner economic and social progress under the young national states' new social conditions.

Thereby we are fulfilling our internationalist obligation to support them in their struggle for independence from imperialist influence.

## Labor Federation Training Programs

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 26, 1978 signed to press 19 Jun 78  
p 10

[Article by Juergen Moeller: "'Knowledge That Will Be of Great Value to Us.'  
The Fritz Heckert Labor Union College Provides Varied Experiences"]

[Text] Peter Nietz, chairman of the LPG [agricultural production cooperative] in Neu-Holland, has guests. A group of African trade unionists is sitting in the meeting hall of the cooperative listening with interest to what the chairman has to say about his village and the LPG. Then questions are asked like: How did you carry out the land reform? How were the farmers attracted to the cooperative? What role did political-ideological work play in the first cooperatives? More and more questions. So many, in fact, that the schedule for the excursion might get upset. Yet every question is answered. That is the custom in such visits by foreign students. The young African trade unionists from Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Mozambique, attending the 3-month course at the Fritz Heckert labor union college sponsored by the FDGB Federal Executive Board in Bernau, are eager to learn.

### Fruitful Exchange of Ideas

Trade unionists from developing countries often are guests in Bernau, where courses provide them with training that is of great benefit to their trade union work at home. The Bernau experience is much in demand, especially in countries where a national industry is developing and the workers are only now beginning to form a class. Through various excursions participants of such courses get the possibility to test their theoretical knowledge in socialist practice and to become concretely familiar with real existing socialism.

During the trip to Neu-Holland, Jose Gabriel Alberto from Angola, member of the provisional provincial commission of the UNTA (Uniao Nacional des Trabalhaderes Angolanos) trade union in Mocamedes Province, talks about the importance the training at the Bernau college has for him and his country: "Our country has only recently become independent. Training of cadres in friendly socialist countries therefore is very important. While being here in Bernau, we have been gathering much insight that we can apply in our countries by keeping aware of their concrete conditions. A fruitful exchange of ideas is a great help to us for better solving certain domestic problems. The excursions are teaching us how theory is applied in practice." His colleague Rosa Venancio Maria, in charge of UNTA's information, education and training in Cabinda Province, adds to that: "We have a course on 'working methods' in which we have prepared the teaching programs for advanced political-ideological training for our unionists. That will be the basis for spreading further what we have learned here in the GDR."

## Proletarian Aid, a Tradition By Now

As long ago as March 1959, the first course for foreign trade union functionaries was started. Its attendants from African and Arab countries were provided with sound theoretical knowledge in basic economics and with many experiences in practical trade union work. That enabled the colleagues to propose their own ideas and recommendations for solving fundamental developmental problems in their own countries and creatively to participate in establishing trade unions.

A year after this first course opened, the college set up its institute for international trade union policy. Training of foreigners became a permanent element of the work at the Fritz Heckert labor union college. By now, over 1,900 labor union functionaries from 64 countries in Africa and Asia, and recently also from Latin America, have taken a course in Bernau.

Primarily, of course, the labor union college trains FDGB functionaries. It makes this facility exercise a significant influence on the labor union movement and the political life in the GDR. At the focal points of labor union work in our Republic, graduates of this education institution are found everywhere. Since 1956, the labor union college as all other state colleges can award the "social scientists" diplomas to all graduates after a 3-year course of studies.

## Experiences Are of Great Importance

Apart from the direct training given to foreigners in the GDR, the labor union college still engages in other forms of international activities. There exists, for example, a close cooperation with labor union training institutions in the other socialist countries. Future propagandists from the Mongolian People's Republic and Cuba, for example, will get their training at Bernau, whereupon they can work at labor union schools and organizations in their own countries. There are close ties with Mexico's Vicente Lombardo Toledano workers university. The Fritz Heckert labor union college maintains similar relationships with training institutions in Syria, Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Iraq. They find FDGB experiences, particularly of the time directly after 1945, those of the antifascist-democratic transformation, great help in training their own cadres.

The college and the FDGB members regard all these forms of international cooperation and assistance as a duty and task in the sense of proletarian internationalism. And it will remain that way. The Ninth FDGB Congress resolution says about it, among other things: "The FDGB will continue in the future to offer its solidarity to, and expand its political-moral and material assistance for, the workers class and the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and help them in training labor union cadres."

Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairman of the FDGB Federal Executive Board, recently announced the FDGB last year allocated M 167.9 million for solidarity. Of that, M 108 million went to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

At times the socialist countries are accused of using their aid and support of developing countries for interference. What certain Western circles are insinuating there for the purpose of camouflage is what they themselves are practicing grossly. There is, for example, an American institute for the development of so-called free trade unionism (AIFLD) which pretends it feels responsible for the trade union movement in Latin America. However, as leading monopolies finance 25 percent and the State Department, with CIA participation, 50 percent of the institution, that "free trade unionism" can surely not amount to very much. No surprise then that a U.S. paper has this to say about it: "Prudent leadership for Latin American trade unions is an inestimable commodity--being as important in that part of the world as the investments." It is simply all a matter of new forms of neocolonialism.

The training of foreigners at the Fritz Heckert labor union college, on the other hand, is financed exclusively out of solidarity donations by FDGB members. The purpose of the FDGB members is to support their class brothers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism while they are constructing and developing a revolutionary labor union movement.

Felisberto Alberto Moujane of Mozambique has confirmed the value and nature of this aid: "We gather experiences here for the management and direction of the economy. That is important to us, as in Mozambique, industry is only beginning to develop. Our knowledge will be of great value to creating a revolutionary labor union. For that the FDGB and mainly the teachers here at the school deserve our gratitude."

Between its Eighth and Ninth Congress (in 1972 and 1977 respectively), the FDGB allocated to international solidarity M 497.3 million, of which M 245.5 million went for support of the Vietnamese people and M 147.7 million for international assistance for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Free health care was given to 761 foreign colleagues invited by the FDGB. And the Fritz Hecker labor union college under the FDGB Federal Executive Board trained 943 trade unionists from Africa, Asia and Latin America. In February 1978, the FDGB supplied SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions) with clothes valued at M 3.3 million for the victims of the apartheid regime. Between April 1977 and January 1978, Ethiopia received solidarity freight valued at M 5.5 million.

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## HUNGARY

### ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON SITUATION OF GYPSIES HELD

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 May 78 p 5

[Text] How many are there? What is their situation at work, in the schools, in their places of residence? What is the rate and manner of their cultural and economic adaptation into the framework of our society?

We have invited to our editorial office to exchange views about the ways and means of socialist solution [the following persons:] under-secretary Dr Joseph Papp, the chairman of the Bureau of Local Councils of the Council of Ministers; the leader of the ministerial council with jurisdiction over this question, Dr Janos Gosztonyi, under-secretary for educational affairs; Istvan Szigeti, assistant secretary for labor; Ferenc Herczeg, vice-chairman of the Scientific Committee [of the Communist Party]; Jakab Orsos, member of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front; Dr Elemer Varnagy, researcher and professor at the Teacher's College of Pecs; Dr Jozsef Vekerdy, linguist and ethnographer, section head at the National Szechenyi Library.

NEPSZABADSAG was represented by Laszlo Rozsa.

[NEPSZABADSAG:] When we survey the data and facts that illuminate the situation of the gypsies in Hungary, we get the impression that a great deal of improvement has taken place in their social, cultural, work and educational conditions and in their housing situations. The paradox, the contradiction in this situation is that the question simultaneously includes feelings and elements of emotion which attest to certain tension. In so far as this assumption is correct, why is this so?

[Dr L. PAPP:] I am also concerned with these thoughts, for a formidable progress is undeniable. The change began already around 1961, when the appropriate organs of the party proscribed the objectives of the political, governmental, as well as the social agencies, and they have also elaborated the directives of the solution. Today three major factors of transformation have to be mentioned. The first is the rate of employment. Around 1961 one third of the gypsy men were employed. Today more than 80 percent of men of employable age are working. In some counties all of them [are employed].

But even among women the rate of those who are employed is nearly 40 percent. The second is the extent of the elimination of the shanty settlements and the establishment of decent housing conditions. In the past ten years we have assigned 13,000 apartments; in fact, because of assignments under different categories, this number has increased. As a follow-up, in the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the government will make the building and purchase of another 11,000 apartments possible under preferential conditions. Ten years ago there were still 126,000 people in the shanty settlements. Today their number is approximately 26,000. I think these two figures speak for themselves. And the third main factor is that attention has been focused on the gypsy youth who have and are bound to have a significant influence in the formation of the new life-styles and life conditions. In general Hungarian society pays a great deal of attention to this matter.

There are, of course, contradictions and tension around this question in spite of accelerated progress. I would explain these, among others, by the fact that the measures taken did not have as great an effect as the magnitude of the task of changing the conditions of the gypsies. In fact, relatively speaking, some contradictions have even increased.

[NEPSZABADSAG:] Has the distance between the life-style of the gypsy and non-gypsy population therefore increased while both of them are progressing dynamically?

[F. HERCZEG:] I would put the question in the following way: What exactly has changed? I am convinced, that today in the state apparatus, as well as in public opinion a definite demand has arisen for the solution of their advancement. Great progress has developed among the gypsies also. They too want to break out of this environment. This is true, even though it does not show as much among the gypsies living in shanty settlements. Therefore, it is possible to speak of tensions only in the sense that these tensions appear as part of the solution. It is true that there are extremes, starting with the most impatient "radicalism" to seemingly democratic views, which proclaim that "it depends only on them, upon the gypsies whether they make use or do not make use of the opportunities." But we know that the solutions here can only be long-range, patient, consistent, and gradual. The problem cannot even be solved by the catchy suggestion that "we have to increase even further the advantages," for here we are facing a serious historical retardation. Only those opportunities and aid can achieve their goals which are not squandered, but are used effectively to serve progress. Lethargical resignation on either side, according to which "the problem of the gypsies cannot be solved anywhere and will not be solved," is no less dangerous. On the contrary, the way I see it, the outlines of the solution are beginning to take shape in our country, and this will be the socialist solution. The gypsies' desire to act is manifest in their involvement in the work production, in their desire to have steady income, in their growing participation in public life. Today they are already present on various forums, they speak up, and voice their opinions. I think the situation among the gypsies is such that we can now advance faster than before.

[I. SZIGETI:] I would like to stress that while we can speak of the gypsies as an ethnic group, they are socially stratified. In point of fact, today there are gypsy intellectuals who are among the best in their professions. At the other extreme there are also elements who still lead a nomadic life. This is why we sense that some of them definitely demand social acceptance and all the possibilities of integration. Others, on the other hand, do not agree, and excommunicate those who have risen from their ranks. But this mobility shows that the social scissors, the distance between the gypsy and non-gypsy population, is objectively decreasing.

[NEPSZABADSAG:] We readily recognize that the problem is basically characterized by a positive development. But perhaps this is precisely the reason why we wish to face the fact that we still have to walk steadily the long path of weeding out prejudices.

[Dr J. GOSZTONYI:] In any case, we cannot ignore the fact that the situation is also complicated by numerical causes, and that in certain situations and certain categories this magnifies the problems. Today [Hungarian] national statistics reveal a gypsy population of 350,000 (1970 statistics speak of 320,000. -- The editors.) In the current academic year, the number of the gypsy students was 6.2 percent of the total enrollment in elementary schools. Their ratio in 1970-1971 was 5.3 percent. This increase reflects the demographic ratio, but also the fact that school age children attend school more regularly and reach the eighth grade in greater numbers. Today the number of gypsy pupils in the eighth grade is 71 percent greater than in 1970-1971. Being stuck in the lower grades is therefore easing up. On the other hand, there is a serious deterioration for example in that gypsy children make up 28.5 percent of those requiring remedial education, and they also comprise 31 percent of the mentally retarded. I may also add that half of the children on social welfare are of gypsy origin.

[I. SZIGETI:] I consider the argument relative to the growing ratio of gypsy children living in precarious environments and requiring remedial education as proofs for the sharpening of contradictions rather debatable. Previously, these questions were not even considered by society. Where was there in the past remedial education for gypsy children? Society simply did not pay any attention to this, or it did not even realize that 10 percent of the children were physically or mentally handicapped. But even if it did, they still could not enter these institutions. How many of these children were in a situation that, on the basis of their family environment, one could not have spoken of their endangerment? Only an insignificant fraction of them. State care was unavailable for them. Thus, the rate and extent of advancement is self-evident. But simultaneously we also see their situation loaded with problems.

[F. HERCZEG:] We have raised the question of prejudices. I would beg to differ here. Hungarian society today is sufficiently enlightened that the color of one's skin is not the basic question any more. Let us not avoid the real problem: in school, children do not withdraw from the clean, well-groomed gypsy child. We know that there are towns whose population moves away if gypsies move in. But there are also cases when they stay, because they become

convinced that the settlers are decent, clean and hard-working, who live off their own labor. True, prejudice still exists, and it is destructive. This is why many of the gypsies try to terminate their former life-styles not in their own village, but elsewhere. But for this reason the village is not sufficiently aware of the positive examples. Nevertheless, there are countless such examples, and today many positive changes can be demonstrated in the general consciousness and common knowledge of the non-gypsy population...

[NEPSZABADSAG:] It would be good if Comrade Orsos would express his opinion on this.

[J. ORSOS:] Truly, one cannot deny that the past three decades, for the first time, brought radical changes in the history of the gypsies. As befitting her economic development, political power and humanistic values, socialist Hungary treats the gypsies like her citizens, who have cohabited with her for centuries. I would like to mention, however, that the gypsies are not indifferent as to how they are approached. One deals here with an ethnic group whose mentality differs from those of the others. This mentality is connected with the fact that for centuries they were outcasts, and their culture also remained such. I am thinking of the fact that the customs and morals of those who originate from different tribes are also different. As an example, the cultural level of the members of the Beas or Tub-maker tribes--of which I also stem--is considerably different from that of the Lovaros. It would be especially helpful, if the members of the local councils and educators would be aware of these differences.

The other thing, to which I have to address myself is that I have very sad experiences with respect to the increased number of remedials. If for example, I am the child of an English mother and if I appear in front of the committee knowing very few words in Hungarian, who would accuse me of being mentally retarded? I have also experienced it in Zalaegerszeg that if a child speaks in his mother tongue in front of the committee, than he speaks as intelligently as any other child. This case should be examined. If the child attends nursery school, let us say at the age of four, then he will most certainly learn to speak Hungarian well. A female teacher in Zalaegerszeg has complained that the children cannot draw the tail end of the letter "o". After I told them in gypsy, they immediately understood it and learned it too. Therefore, the majority of the children are not mentally retarded; they simply don't know Hungarian well...

[NEPSZABADSAG:] We would like to hear the opinion of the researcher and educator about this, as at Pecs they have conducted such intelligence tests.

[Dr E. VARNAGY:] It is true that such research is conducted by us at the college. In many instances these prove that we are dealing with intellectually healthy children, and not with remedial subjects.

[NEPSZABADSAG:] Therefore, is there a difference in intelligence?

[Dr E. VARNAGY:] There do exist difficulties in solving problems orally. But if they have to solve practical assignments, these differences do not exist. They, they cannot express themselves properly, and even more importantly, they live in an environment that lacks stimulus. The achievements of the children also reflect the state of their parents' assimilation. In truth, where they accept steady employment and advance, there the children's performance is also higher. The elements of culture are made up of a system of experience, a system of performance, and a system of norms. If these are negative, they have to be modified. If a child lives in a negative system of norms, one has to weed out those elements of culture, and retain only those that advance and encourage assimilation.

[Dr J. GOSZTONYI:] Generally, one cannot accuse educators of discrimination. Otherwise I agree that pedagogical practices have to be improved, so as to prevent everything that could appear as discrimination. What is more, we should do everything to make sure that children attend kindergarten before starting school. There, their ability to express themselves can be improved, and thus they can attend school with proper preparation. Their number is in fact increasing. Today 7,200 of these children attend kindergarten. I have to mention, however, that according to several megue reports, the more backward strata [of the gypsies] do not take advantage of the kindergarten opportunities in spite of all efforts, good intentions, and free provisions.

[Dr L. PAPP:] In this debate I cannot agree with the claim that the social scissor is closing everywhere. Differences are not decreasing everywhere, because the rate of change in life conditions of the gypsy and non-gypsy population varies. And as far as their life conditions are concerned? Today the majority of the gypsy population lives in villages. Earlier one third of them worked in agriculture; today only 13 percent are so employed. But five percent of them are in agricultural collectives. Many times they are forced to accept employment far from their places of residence, precisely because of the difficulties in being accepted. As far as equal intellectual capabilities are concerned, the best practical example for this is Fot. In the "children's city" [of Fot] there is no difference between the school performance of gypsy and non-gypsy pupils, nor between their intellectual and physical performances. This is the result of the environment. From all this the conclusion remains that children must receive encouragement from within the family, from the school, from work, from their housing conditions, and from their relations to society, which will lead to the lessening, and then to the elimination of the differences.

[NEPSZABADSAG:] I would like to have the linguistic problems--the assessment of which can encourage various methods of solution--illuminated by the linguist-ethnologist. For example, the spread of the gypsy language of Sanscrit origin in Hungary.

[Dr J. VEKERDY:] Truly, both worldwide and in Hungary there are two views: together or separately? That is, should gypsies integrate into the entire society in every way, or should we create a higher standard of living for

a separate ethnic group? There is a romantic western theory, according to which gypsies should preserve their traditional vagabond form of life, but it either in camping situations, or in trailers. Our attitude, the socialist approach opposes this. The path of solution to this question is integration, full-fledged citizenship, along with culture, employment, education, and housing. As far as the language is concerned: 72 percent of them do not speak any other language except Hungarian. 21.5 percent speaks gypsy, and seven percent speaks a form of Roumanian. Only the Lovaros, Kolompars or the so-called "wandering gypsies" speak the gypsy language. Tests indicate strong linguistic deficiency is applicable not only to children entering school from [those of] the Lovaro gypsies, nor only to the children of the Roumanian speaking Beas gypsies, but also to the children who speak only Hungarian. They too enter school with the same linguistic deficiencies as the gypsy children from the other groups. It is tragic that in the world of shanties even a knowledge of 1200 Hungarian words is sufficient. There would have to be an enormous linguistic renaissance for the gypsy language to become suitable for the transmission of a higher form of culture. This does not mean that anyone would like to deprive the gypsies of their mother tongue.

[Dr J. GOSZTONYI:] As far as the question of "together or separately" is concerned, in the case of the children, our attitude is that this should always be decided by local circumstances. If we separate them in kindergarten and in schools, we do it, and we can do it only to accelerate their assimilation, and thus avoid even the semblance of such problems in the higher grades. We have very good experiences in this regard, for example in Zala County's boarding school at Csap.

[I. SZIGETI:] In spite of our efforts, gypsy youth participate in vocational training only to a limited degree. Only about 2 percent of the apprentices are of gypsy origin, even though we are supporting their schooling through boarding schools, and we are also giving them preferential treatment in the selection of their fields and further study. Their vocational training is supported by the decree which enables them to enter into industrial training programs of 6 to 12 months duration in about 50 trades, without eight years of elementary education. It is a fact, however, that the ratio of their vocational training is still very low as compared to the national average. The foremen at their place of employment, the unions, and the Communist Youth Organization [KISZ] have to give them aid in their vocational training. Without this we cannot make any meaningful progress.

[J. ORSOS:] I wish to bring up another point. We should make certain that those of gypsy origin who have received higher training, should join effectively in the struggle for the advancement of the gypsies. You know very well that for centuries Hungarians did not believe Hungarians. The fate and problems of the gypsies should be decided with their participation. One should work with them on their advancement.

[NEPSZABADSAG:] It is evident from what has been said, that from a certain point of view the situation is favorable. The public is attentive and is filled with a strong desire to alter and to help. This makes it possible for all concerned to approach the question with an open and realistic mind, without underestimating or exaggerating the difficulties of the solution.

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## HUNGARY

### RELIGION'S CHANGING ROLES IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY DISCUSSED

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[Article by Jozsef Poor, university professor, candidate of the science of philosophy: "Atheist Propaganda and the Religious World-View"]

[Text] The building of a classless society requires a prolonged historical age. Its first stage, the socialist society, is of transitional nature. Already Marx had called attention to the fact that socialism still carries upon it the "birthmarks" of a class society; having been unable to free itself completely from these. On the other hand, however, it preserves some of the features of the earlier epochs of history only as "birthmarks," while divesting itself ever more of these.

Religious phenomena are also present in the current stage of our evolution. Religion is a multi-facetedly complex social phenomenon, in which ideological, emotional, ritualistic and associational-institutional elements are equally present. The belief in the "supernatural" or in an "irrational reality" is an organic part of religious teachings; and with these are inseparably connected all of the other structural elements of religion as well. In line with this, religious feelings, rituals and institutions are intended to strengthen directly the mystical imaginary interconnection between man and "irrational reality."

#### The Historical Character of Religious Needs

The "secret" basis of religion were unravelled by Marx and Engels. The sources of religion in a class society include the antagonism of the social classes, oppression, exploitation, and the fact that there is no realistic escape from the existing social situation, or that they failed to recognize it, and thus try to create a mystical-irrational way out. "A human being, i.e., the world of a human being is the state and society. This state, this society produces religion, which is a reversed world consciousness, for it itself is a reversed world. Religion is the general theory, the encyclopedical summary, the popularized logic, the spiritual affair of honor, the enthusiasm, the moral sanctification, the solemn contemplation and the general consoling and justifying foundation of this world. Religion is the fantastic realization of human essence, for human essence has no true reality," writes Marx. (Works of Marx and Engels. Kossuth Publisher, 1957. Vol I, p 378.)

In the historical course of society the various types of religions and their configurations were called to life, were reproduced by the various, often antagonistically discrepant social class interests. Thus, religious ideology--in its main course--serves to defend the conservative, and occasionally extremely regressive class interests of class societies. At times, however, it also fulfills certain progressive functions. Some of its versions can also be mobilized in the service of social progress, and even for the revolutionary transformation of society. This is demonstrated by the manifold political-ideological differentiations of Christianity in the period of early European bourgeois revolutions. But even those species of religion of religion that play a passive role in political progress are in their essence, similar to the other religions; they too contain the above-cited mystical-irrational ideological elements, illusory emotions and forms of activities. But at such times, they become the inner, psychological regulators of the realization of social progress.

But in this sense, socialist revolution and the building of a classless society also signifies the development of a completely new situation. Bourgeois revolutions of necessity took place under the aegis of illusory ideas, irrespective as to whether their doctrinal systems, their ideologies were of a religious or of a worldly nature. The socialist revolution, on the other hand, brought of necessity into being its own revolutionary-scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism, which is free from the illusory, fantastic and distorted portrayal of reality. Marxism-Leninism is conducting a scientific social analysis; i.e., it explores society's objective perspectives and developmental tendencies on the basis of scientific considerations. The realization of the socialist-communist society presumes the revolutionary transformation of the whole system of true social conditions, and requires the consciously well-grounded creative participation of an ever wider strata of the popular masses, performed on the basis of their inner convictions. Thus, in a socialist society there is an organic interconnection between the reshaping of the people's conscious-emotional world, and their active participation in the transformation of society's life conditions. In the present stage of our development--stemming from the transitional nature of this age--there are certain factors both in our social living conditions, as well as in the area of our population's conscious-emotional relations, which work in the direction of the cessation of religion and of religious phenomena, and also factors that have a contradictory effect, and thus aid the reproduction of religion.

It follows unequivocally from the above that in conjunction with ideological questions and in regard to the understanding of man there are fundamental contradictions between religion and Marxism-Leninism. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism is dialectical materialism; wherefore it regards man an autonomous being who with the establishment of Communism, will be qualified to establish his rule over nature, society and over himself; that is, he will be able to liberate himself, and only himself will be able to realize his freedom. The ideology of Marxism-Leninism is atheistic. As such, it

not only demonstrates the impossible scientific foundations of theses which "supplement" the material world with certain mystical beings; it not only clarifies the illusionary and fantastic nature of the actions and emotions connected with this "supplementation;" but it also establishes the possibility and the need for overcoming these views, emotions and methods of action.

#### The Transformation of the Demands for Religion

The Communist Party regards it as fundamentally significant even in the period of the building of an advanced socialist society that ever wider strata of the working people should identify themselves with the Party's political goals, that popular-national unity should become ever more tight, and that this unity should also manifest itself in the practical actions of the people. The results of the socialist development of our life-conditions, socialist democratism and the successes of our cultural and educational activities combine to establish the foundations of the fading of the demand for religion among ever wider segments of the population. From this point of view, one of the most significant factors is the establishment of the socialist mode of production in our country. The termination of exploitation, oppression and antagonistic class conflicts, the dominant role of the socialist ownership of the means of production, the realization of the socialist principle of distribution, the shaping and strengthening of our socialist superstructure, the wide expansion of the socialist way of life, our achievements in the area of terminating the essential differences between the village and the city, the security of life of the population, the entrance of women into the work force in even greater numbers, and the spread of socialist democracy all contribute to the reduction of religious needs, and to the emancipation of the masses from under the influence of religion.

In connection with this development, however, we also have to note that the turning away from religion is not always a positive tendency. In certain instances, indifference toward religion may also be linked with ideological-political views and attitudes that are extremely contradictory to Marxism, [such as] anarchism, or certain other conscious-emotional forms of attitudes that profess a so-called "ideological neutrality." These negative phenomena also warn us that we should link our work of religious-critical enlightenment organically with the strengthening of our policy of alliance.

In our age we experience not only the phenomenon of turning away from religion, but also the multi-facetedness of the attachment to religion, i.e., the diverse manifestation of its laxening. Attachment to the churches and to religion manifests itself today mostly in the diverse areas of the faithful's, the religious people's private lives. Here too, an especially significant role is played by the unique experiences provided by the religious liturgies. Religion is losing its former role primarily in its public stance; and parallel with this, also in intellectual life. Nor can we overlook the tendency whereby the influence of the churches in the area of "personal spiritual care" is not only continuing in certain instances, but it is even increasing within certain strata of our population. If in connection with various lesser or greater problems of private life (illness,

loneliness, etc.) the individual finds no support in his misery from certain social institutions, he can easily fall under its [religion's] influence. Today, in addition to their traditional methods, the churches are attempting to counteract the weakening of religious convictions primarily through their services, connected with various events of private life, through the "updating" of their liturgies, and especially through the modernization of the experiences offered by these [liturgies].

The transformation of religious needs also manifests itself in the fact that in our country the demand for religious phenomena, which are ideologically contradictory to Marxism-Leninism, has essentially ceased. The dominant majority of the religious persons are identifying themselves with our social goals, and their needs of faith apply only to religious services that do not mean political opposition to the building of advanced socialism.

In a socialist society, there also evolve new phenomena in the area of the teachings and activities of the churches. These are not isolated changes that appear only in socialist countries; they also show up on the international level. The most noteworthy among the main tendencies within the changes is the fact that within the churches a political and ideological disintegration is taking place. In the course of the political changes, two contradictory trends, and numerous transitional variations found therein evolve. One of these stands unequivocally and openly against social progress, and volunteers for the political-ideological defense of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The other trend recognizes the basic social problems of our age, and offers to the faithful a realistic and progressive political orientation in the solution of these problems. In our country, it is the second of these trends that became, or is becoming dominant in the leadership, in the practical manifestations, and in the activities of various churches. Parallel with this--and naturally with divergent pace in the various churches--the trend, which opposes our social goals politically is pushed ever more into the background, and is being isolated even within the churches.

The progressive political transformation that came about in our country in the midst of the faithful and in the churches is based on the achievements of our social life, and on the successes of our common labor together with the faithful in the building of socialism. There is an unquestioned need for atheistic enlightenment and religious criticism even in the period of the building of an advanced socialist society. We are pursuing this too in the interest of social progress and in the interest of human emancipation. Therefore, the ideological struggle is waged not against religious persons, nor against the members of the church hierarchy, but rather in the interest of religious persons, and even in the interest of church leaders; i.e., in their interest and in the interest of social progress. This study too has as its goal that people who today are still imbued with religious prejudices, customs, and emotions, should increasingly comprehend and realize the building of the new society. "Marxism is materialism. As materialism, it is just as much as adamant enemy of religion as was the materialism of the 18th century encyclopedists," so wrote Lenin. Then he added: "One has to know the method

of anti-religious struggle. For this reason, we have to explain on the basis of materialism how the masses' belief in God and in religion began. The struggle against religion should not be limited to abstract ideological agitation...; it must be connected with the concrete practice of the class movement, which is directed at the elimination of the social roots of religion." (Marx-Engels-Lenin: A vallasrol [About Religion], Budapest, Kossuth Publisher, 1975, p 426.) Lenin's thoughts warn us that not even today can we limit our work of atheistic propaganda to the critique of religious teachings; rather we have to explain the sources of the origins, survival and re-creation of religion. Our work of religious criticism is an organic part of the struggle that we lead for the termination of the social roots of religion, for the elevation of mankind, for life without fear, for the security of life, and for the building of a new society. Until the termination of the social roots of religion, religion itself cannot cease to exist. No work of enlightenment can take the place of the continued improvement of our conditions of life; it can only complement it as a significant factor.

We should conduct our ideological enlightenment among such religious workers, who are our political allies. We have to be careful with our methods so as not to alienate workers of religious convictions. Rather, they should strengthen our political alliance. Lenin's thoughts to the effect that "atheist propaganda has to be subjected to the main objective that has as its goal the intensification of the exploited masses' class struggle against the exploiters" are still applicable today. (Ibid., p 427.) Naturally, today the chief goal of the Marxist Party in our country is to increase the participation of the masses in development of the advanced socialist system in all areas of economy, politics, culture and education. Atheistic propaganda, therefore, is never a self-serving objective, but the educational tool of the masses, which is an organic part of their self-emancipation and self-fulfillment.

#### The Re-Creative Factors of Religious Ideology

We have to take into account that religion will exist and will regenerate itself for a relatively long period of time. The solid, dialectical materialistic continuation of atheistic propaganda and its appropriate linkage to political goals is derived from the fact that we are living amidst transitional social conditions. In addition to the fact that conservative traditions also have an extensive role in the survival of religion, a number of factors stemming from the transitional conditions of our age, also contribute to its regeneration. Their transformation and development in the right direction and with the correct speed, historically plays a considerable part in the process of the decay of religion.

From among the factors that create the need for and regenerate religion, we have to take into consideration both the domestic and the international phenomena of life. We cannot disregard the fact either that the changing, the transformation of these factors, the realignment of international power relations in favor of socialism, in favor of the forces of social progress, and the achievement of advanced socialism reproduce religion not unchanged, but in an altered form, and therewith contribute to the widespread conquests of the scientific ideology of our age.

The international phenomena that enhance the reproduction of religion among the people of our country include the threatening arsenal of the existing and newly developed weapons of mass destruction, the periodic local wars caused and supported by the imperialist countries, the eruption of military aggression, and the cold war phraseology that threaten peaceful coexistence from the direction of the most extremist circles of imperialism. Negative experiences, and having to live through imagined and fantastic struggles against dread and fear have always played, as are still playing today a prominent role in the origins and survival of religion. The realistic path of victory over these negative international phenomena is the support of the anti-imperialist peace movement with active deeds. This has been recognized by most human beings, and today these movements are actively supported by the majority of the faithful, as well as by the churches.

Because of their traditional nature, our domestic social conditions are playing a contradictory role both from the vantage point of religion, as well as from the various other petty bourgeois views and attitudes. We have already alluded to the fact that in the course of the building of socialism we have produced social conditions that fulfill fundamentally the function of strengthening the socialist superstructure, while, also aiding the cessation of ideological trends and attitude-forms that are alien to Marxism-Leninism. But we cannot disregard the fact either that in a secondary way, besides their main functions, subjected to them, our transitional social conditions also constitute a source for the regeneration of negative ideological and attitudinal forms. These factors include both objective and subjective elements.

The mode of production of a socialist society is basically contradictory to the mode of production of all class societies. But in its stage of development, it differs qualitatively from the mode of production of the Communist society, both with respect to the forces and the conditions of production. Our conditions of production, which contribute the economic basis of our socialist society, play a role in the reproduction of the non-socialist elements of the superstructure, including religion also. The non-communistic elements contained therein are the foundations of partial interest, of particular conflicts of interest, and of the views and attitudinal forms of reflective of these. Our system of distribution--with respect to its evolutionary tendencies--assures the distribution of the produced goods in accordance with the work accomplished. Historically this form of distribution is the most just, but only from the viewpoint of the class society--as has been alluded to already by the classics of Marxism. In a Communist society, it is the triumph of the principle of distribution according to needs that brings about the just distribution of goods from a human point of view, and eliminates the inequalities which are still necessarily part of socialism. We cannot disregard in this connection those differences either that exist between the state and the collective sectors. In the period of the building of an advanced socialist society, several significant actions take place in

the interest of terminating the inequalities in distribution (e.g., family subsidy, retirement, preference for families with many children in the securing of homes, etc.). The complete elimination of inequalities, however, can only be achieved in the upper stage of Communism.

Conditions of ownership and distribution in socialism do not as yet make it possible the termination of social classes. The interests of our social classes, and therein the interests of the individual strata are basically identical, and they are in harmony with the interests of social progress. Special interests, however, show divergences and differences. The separation of physical and intellectual labor is not solved in socialism; only the path of solution is revealed. In accordance with this, the unity and identity of individual, communal and social interests on various levels cannot be realized either; it can only move in the direction of realization. In socialism, work does not as yet become people's necessity of life on a mass scale, as it does in a Communist society. The essential material, economic and cultural differences between the village and the city do not as yet cease to exist.

These objective inner factors--emphasized without the intent of completeness--on society's present level of development produce contradictory influences upon the conscious and attitudinal forms of society; and thus indirectly or metastatically, they can also contribute to the reproduction of religious phenomena. The 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party [MSzMP], in conjunction with the further development of our social conditions, has formulated those most important goals, which, in the long run, ensure the termination of the mentioned contradictions, and make the influence of our objective life-conditions upon the superstructure unilaterally positive. Our atheistic propaganda work, therefore, can only be successful if we pursue it in organic unity with the further development of our social conditions.

There are also several subjective factors that contribute to the reproduction of religion. The building of advanced socialism is realized in the form of a socially conscious activity. The Party recognizes and defines our immediate and remote goals, mobilizes our people for the solution of these goals, and organizes and harmonizes their activity. Our working people participate in the solution by consciously assuming these goals. Concrete social developments, however, are more complex than even the most carefully prepared philosophical model. They can originate spontaneously. Unforeseen or disregarded factors--which can be linked to the material, cultural, and educational conditions of the various strata of society--can also motivate their existence. If these spontaneous factors contradict the realization of our basic goals, they can also contribute to the regeneration of religious phenomena through the one-sided portrayal of social reality.

In the definition of our social goals, in the organization, direction, and control of our objectives, we are drawing upon an ever widening circle of our population; socialist democratism is becoming ever more complete. This process proves conclusively in practical life that people are not only

participants of our history, not only executors of the goals, but also the authors of our history. Should the realization of socialist democratism, however, be impeded; should people not be able to use appropriately their democratic rights--and in certain instances we still see manifestations of this--these will also contribute to the one-sided understanding of our social reality, and will strengthen the survival of religious phenomena.

In the area of our public life a number of other distortions can also contribute to the one-sided and deformed portrayal of our social reality, to the development of phenomena of negative disposition. From this point of view, the relationship of the various institutions and organizations is of exceedingly great significance to the population. Spiritless, bureaucratic administration, indifference toward the affairs of the population--which is still more or less evident in various areas--contributes heavily to the feeling of enfeeblement and of defenselessness among the population. If our political activity repels, rather than attracts the population, this results in a unique vacuum, that attracts views and attitude-forms which are alien to our ideology and to our revolutionary philosophy. A balanced, democratic atmosphere in our public life, proper attention to the workers, interest in and helpful attention to their affairs and problems--all these are fundamental preconditions to the successful development of Marxist ideological education.

We cannot separate therefore, our work of ideological enlightenment from the realization of the whole of our social goals and objectives. Rather, we have to do it in the knowledge of these [goals and objectives], as their organic part. In our activity of religious criticism, Lenin's observation is still worthy of great attention: "A Marxist has to know how to take into full account the concrete situation, how to draw always a line between anarchism and opportunism..., so that he should neither fall into the abstract, phrase-mongering, but in reality empty "revolutionarization" of an anarchist, nor into the mode of thought and opportunism of a petty bourgeois or of a liberal intellectual philistine, who is afraid of the struggle against religion, forgets about this objective, and makes peace with the belief in God..." (Lenin's Works, Kossuth Publisher, 1968, Vol 17, p. 393). "Phrase-mongering" atheism which builds only upon enlightenment and pays no attention to the concrete situation, is just as alien to Marxism, and is a compromise with religion and the giving up of atheistic enlightenment and propaganda. The ever stronger political alliance and amalgamation between the social classes and all of the working strata provides well-founded conditions for philosophical-ideological training, for the widespread realization of the socialist way of life, and for the progressive triumphs over views and ways of life that are alien to Marxism. The further development of our social conditions, with the active participation of the masses, is the most important instrument of atheistic educational work. The balanced development of socialist conditions and ideological education together produce the situation wherein an ever greater portion of our population is freed from its earlier illusory and fantastic views, experiences and forms of activities, and accepts as its inner conviction the Marxist view that "the termination of religion as the people's illusory happiness is identical with demanding the people's real happiness."

SOCIOPOLITICAL EDUCATION LAGGING IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Godula: "Remove the Causes"]

[Text] A general knowledge of sociopolitics is an essential element of the qualifications for graduation in any major, according to the guidelines. But how does this work out in practice? Current practice is influenced to a significant extent by the past evolution of the concept of moral training in our higher education. Simplified, it consists of gradually "implanting" in the curriculum those sociopolitical subjects which, for various reasons, are treated as a special sort of supplement to courses in the major. Up until now, unfortunately, such an attitude toward ideological training has been bothering a certain segment of the academic community.

As a result it happens not infrequently that a young economist or teacher, even one graduating with high marks, only on the job begins to make up for shortcomings in his sociopolitical education. This happens because despite the assumptions and obvious needs, the institutions of higher education do not attach enough importance to sociopolitical subjects. Rather frequently they are just taught and entered into the students' records.

How does this look in practice? One attempt to answer this question is the SZSP all-Polish social sciences council's assessment of the level and effectiveness of classes in political economics, and the foundations of political science and Marxist philosophy and sociology. This assessment was based on the statements of more than 200 members of groups of scientists, political scientists, sociologists, philosophers, teachers, lawyers, administrators, psychologists, and historians from all over the country.

Each One for Himself

The curricula for sociopolitical courses, which are after all rather good, are required to a different extent from one institution to another. Is this good? No, it is bad, because the differences in curriculum interpretation are so great, according to the students, that overall one gets the impression that the content which the various lecturers impart is basically their own private affair.

The young people speaking about instruction in sociopolitical subjects are, of course, in favor of some differentiation of curriculum to correspond to the nature of studies and the major. Unfortunately today this differentiation depends solely on the qualifications and personal interests of the lecturers and not on the needs of the students. In addition, in practice certain sociopolitical subjects are quite unrelated. It is not uncommon for the same problems to be discussed in political economics as in the fundamentals of political science, because the lecturers do not have the desire or possibility of coming to some understanding.

The general national trend in teaching political economics is to focus on the economic problems of capitalism, and in teaching Marxist philosophy and sociology, to concentrate on the history of philosophy. In the fundamentals of political science the situation is fluid. As everyone knows this course is conducted by graduates in different fields: economics, sociology, law, history, and so on. Each of them emphasizes the problems with which he is most familiar, those most directly related to his own scientific discipline. In one instance this will be the socioeconomic development of our country. In another case, it will be international political relations. And in still another, it will be the science of party systems and political doctrines.

#### No Time for Discussion

In the teaching of sociopolitical subjects, memory is always foremost. The lectures mainly emphasize the mastery of certain chapters of the textbook by heart, not skill in interpreting various sociopolitical processes. In this connection there is a monologue delivered by the lecturer, and section meetings consist of the usually quizzing on the assigned reading material. There is no time for discussion. After all, with this method instruction just is not necessary. In all justice it must nonetheless be stated that it is difficult to hold a discussion in a group of a couple dozen people.

At the section meetings in political economics, the fundamentals of political science, or Marxist philosophy and sociology, it is not unusual to use texts from Marxist-Leninist classics. At most they are useful as an illustration of textbook formulas, not as a source for becoming acquainted with the principles of scientific thinking. It is very exceptional that a familiarity with the works of the creators of Marxism-Leninism is required. "What for? After all, my lectures are enough," some lecturers seem to be saying.

It is true that some students are not very enthusiastic about taking sociopolitical courses and going to the lectures and section meetings. The exception is political economics, which has the longest traditions in our institutions of higher education and which is conducted on the highest level. Those instructors who manage to take advantage of current events to probe the methods of evaluating sociopolitical processes and phenomena do not complain about student attendance and disinterest in their subject, however.

## Perfunctoriness Is the Rule

Despite all the reservations, college-level sociopolitical courses do a rather good job in the cognitive and information spheres. Can we give as high a rating to their methodological role? Students say that these subjects do not do a good enough job of teaching the ability to use the methodological instructions of scientific perception. As a result college students, the future graduates of our institutions of higher education, lack the basis for independent scientific thinking concerning the mechanisms of sociopolitical life in our country and the world.

The way the ideological function of the sociopolitical subjects is handled receives the worst assessment. The lecturers do not take advantage as they might of the students' knowledge in shaping their views, attitudes, and convictions. This is the result of the formal "academic" approach, which some of the teaching staff has to its work. There are instances even today where an instructor has "two truths" which operate in his teaching of the fundamentals of political science. One of them is the so-called "official" one, and the other is supposedly his "private" doctrine. What sort of social effects are there from this "didactic method"?

Generally the students think that in its present form the sociopolitical subjects fail to create the conditions for coming to understand the essence and principles of Marxism-Leninism on an adequate level. It is worth emphasizing that many of them say that the classes at the secondary level have a far greater influence in shaping their world outlook than those at the college level do. As presented at the higher-education level, sociopolitical knowledge is not very attractive and delving into it is not an intellectual adventure. Of course, those college students who are actively working in social sciences circles represent an exception. What do the rest of the students do? They try to make up for the deficiencies...after graduation.

## Qualifications of the Staff

The ineffectiveness of instruction in sociopolitical courses is obviously a result of the level of the meritorical and didactic preparation of the academic instructors conducting them. This level differs a good deal. Among the instructors in the ideological subjects there are undoubtedly many people deeply committed to their work. As one of the students queried put it, these are the "hobbyists." They have high standards. They know how to set up discussions. They are able to avail themselves of the knowledge transmitted to shape skills in political thinking and analysis of phenomena occurring in social life. Do all lecturers deserve such an assessment?

It is certain that college instructors in the sociopolitical subjects are overburdened. In addition, many of them are young assistants who have only recently graduated themselves. It is no surprise that they do not have the proper experience. It may be that the reason there is no time for discussion in the fundamentals of political science is that it is after all simpler to

check to see if the student knows anything. It may be that perfunctoriness is the rule in instruction because the instructor himself has serious gaps in his knowledge and too little time to make up for them. Senior colleagues, the professors and docents, are not particularly helpful in this regard, but they could be. It would be enough for them to make more frequent visits to sit in on lectures and section meetings. Nevertheless, in higher education the custom of sitting in on classes is dying.

In order to improve the staff situation in the college-level institutes of sociopolitical sciences, it would be helpful to invite to classes famous practitioners, social, political, and economic activists and journalists. This idea has been brought up many times, but the institutions of higher education have...their problems. Let the student organization set up the meetings with interesting people.

#### Activity on the Part of College Students

The level of sociopolitical training depends to a great extent on the level of activity of the students themselves. An evaluation made by the SZSP nationwide council on the social sciences shows that things are not going very well with this level of activity. The student group does not lack pragmatism. A given proportion of young people have no interest in the content of their majors, including here the sociopolitical sciences. They spend a few years at the university solely for the purpose of getting a degree.

At the same time, the overwhelming majority of the student population is deeply interested in sociopolitical studies. This is evidenced by the tremendous popularity of many forms of ideological training put on by the student organization. It is sufficient to present the example of the last tournament of political knowledge, the fifth one, which ended a few weeks ago. About 75 percent of the students took part in it. There is therefore a need for learning about politics, economics, and society. There is no need for superficiality or a college-level set pattern.

Three years ago, at a joint session of the presidium of the main board of SZSP and the collegium of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology, guidelines were adopted concerning participation by students and the student organization in planning and holding classes in ideological subjects. Among other things, it was decided that to increase the role which groups operating in SZSP have in sociopolitical training. The action groups here were to evaluate the level of the courses and even, one a semester, to conduct them.

Unfortunately, the fate of these decisions is identical to that of all the other decisions to expand student participation in the process of instruction and moral training. Young people's voices is still rather weak, and it is still frequently ignored by college officials and employees. These two factors, the inadequate level of activity on the part of a large number of young people and employees' improper attitudes toward students' views,

determine the tasks of the officials in the higher education ministry, the various institutions of higher education, and the student organization.

College students' sociopolitical education must be well organized and effective, and not defective, the way it is today. This is the very root of one of the important reasons for the inadequate level of activity of part of the young Polish intelligentsia. It is therefore time to get rid of the cause and not just to be surprised as to the effects.

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# PARTICIPATION OF MINORITIES IN BUILDING SOCIALISM

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 78 pp 40-52

[Article by Gheorghe Unc: "The Participation of the Cohabiting Nationalities, Together With the Romanian People, in the Achievement of Revolutionary, Democratic Changes and in the Erection of Socialism in Romania"]

[Text] The triumph of the antifascist and anti-imperialist armed national insurrection in August 1944 inaugurated a new era in the history of Romania, the era of the fulfillment of the aspirations of social and national justice for which the party of the working class in our country has consistently militated since its creation 85 years ago. The realistic program of innovative social, economic, political and cultural changes proposed by the Romanian Communist Party after the insurrection, corresponding to the basic interests and aspirations of the broadest categories of working people, regardless of national affiliation, caused the immense majority of the Romanian people to consolidate around our working class.

In the general program of the RCP, an important place was given to the democratic solving of the national problem, as an integral part of the revolutionary changes in Romanian society. Thus, the Draft Platform of the Democratic National Front, drawn up by the RCP Central Committee and proposed to all progressive forces in September 1944, put among the general objectives of action the establishment of a regime of real democracy, in which all citizens, regardless of nationality, religion and sex, would possess broad rights and freedoms. The document specified: "Complete equality in rights for all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, religion and sex, will be achieved. A regime of amicable cohabitation and cooperation between all nationalities of the country will be established. National and religious persecution will be prosecuted and punished by law."

As in many other earlier moments of history, when the working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities acted in unison and brotherhood with the Romanian people, the great triumphs in the years of the democratic people's revolution in Romania were obtained by means of the joint struggle of those who work, regardless of nationality. The adhesion, from the beginning, of the working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities to the platform

of the Democratic National Front [FND], to which the RCP, the PSD [Social Democratic Party], the Commission for Organization of the Trade Union Movement, the Union of Communist Youth, the Plowmen's Front, the Union of Patriots and other democratic organizations belonged, constitutes eloquent testimony in this regard. In the manifesto of adhesion to the FND of the Union of Hungarian Working People in Romania (MADOSZ), of 6 October 1944, it said: "Romanian democracy reached on 23 August 1944 a new period of its history. The Romanian people embarked on the course of taking their fate into their own hands.... We, the Hungarians in Romania, cannot separate for a moment our fate from the fate of our Romanian brothers."<sup>2</sup>

The continual strengthening of the democratic forces in the governments that succeeded one another in the August 1944-February 1945 interval and the strong growth of the influence of the working class in Romanian society made possible, even before the democratic resolution of the problem of state power, the legislating of important objectives with a democratic character.<sup>3</sup> Among them was the statute of the nationalities, adopted on 7 February 1945. Setting down the principle of the equality of all Romanian citizens before the law, the statute represented the legal basis for the provision of democratic rights and freedoms for the cohabiting nationalities. "All Romanian citizens are equal before the law," the statute stipulated, "and possess the same civil and political rights, regardless of race, nationality, language or religion." Prohibiting "the investigation of the ethnic origin of Romanian citizens in order to establish their legal status" (Article 2), the statute established that Romanian citizens of another nationality "will receive the same treatment and the same guarantees, de jure and de facto, as other Romanian citizens. Any abridgment, direct or indirect, of their rights or, inversely, the establishment of privileges, direct or indirect, for citizens on the basis of their race, religion or nationality, and any propagation of exclusivism or of hatred and contempt of race, religion or nationality are punishable by law" (Article 4). In Article 18 it was stipulated that "The Romanian state provides education in the native language by means of primary, secondary and higher state schools for the nationalities that possess a sufficient number of applying pupils."

This document had a great political importance for the development of the struggle of the masses of people, regardless of nationality, to put Romania on the path of profound democratic, revolutionary changes.

The establishment of democratic revolutionary power on 6 March 1945 opened up new prospects of developing the country in the direction of democracy and social progress, of mobilizing all the forces of the people in the struggle to consolidate and expand the democratic gains, and of achieving, in this context, full equality for the cohabiting nationalities within the Romanian state. The date of 6 March 1945 represented the guarantee for undertaking the solving of the national problem in a widely democratic spirit. The democratic revolutionary government, with a marked worker and peasant character, the result of the united revolutionary struggle of the Romanian, Hungarian and German working people and those of other nationalities, put at the basis

of its activity such main objectives as: the acceleration of the process of democratization of the state apparatus, the legislating and finishing of agrarian reform, the restoration of the national economy and the improvement of the living and working conditions of the population, and so on, from which all working people in our homeland have benefited to an equal extent.

The democratic revolutionary power also took a number of steps to arrest any inclinations of the reactionary circles to create an atmosphere of hostility between the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities and acted to consolidate the brotherhood and cohesion of the Romanian, Hungarian and German working people and those of other nationalities. Stigmatizing the revisionist campaign instigated by various reactionary groups abroad in connection with the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference, which declared the fascist Vienna dictate null and void, the plenum of the RCP Central Committee in July 1946 declared: "The Central Committee has made known to public opinion inside and outside the country the party's viewpoint on Transylvania, maintaining that there can be no question even of the partial validity of the Vienna dictate."<sup>4</sup> At the same time, there were indicated concrete measures meant to lead to the consolidation of the brotherhood of the Romanian, Hungarian and German working people and those of other nationalities and to the combating of any chauvinistic manifestations.

The adhesion of the broad masses of people, regardless of nationality, to the policy of democratic, revolutionary transformation of the country, promoted by the Communist Party, was reflected very graphically in the result of the parliamentary elections in November 1946, when the democratic forces obtained a categorical victory, getting nearly 80 percent of the votes. The working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities were directly represented in the Assembly of Deputies set up after the elections in 1946 and, in fact, in the democratic revolutionary government established on 6 March 1945.

The great class battles and revolutionary mass movements, at the head of which was the Romanian Communist Party, led to the achievement of profound social changes, to the implementation of a national policy of full equality in rights for the nationalities, and to a series of economic and social reforms for the benefit of the masses of people.

The gaining of full political power by the working class, in alliance with the working peasantry and the other categories of working people, marked the transition to the erection of socialism on the land of Romania. This imparted an unprecedented upsurge to the constructive work of the masses, forgers of history. In a relatively short period, the working people, regardless of nationality, have obtained impressive triumphs in all fields of activity.

The nationalization of the main means of production in June 1948 constituted a very significant moment of the socialist revolution, followed by structural changes in the content of the production relations, by the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, and by the creation of a wide field of action for planning the national economy. Master of the means of production, the working

class became the production-managing and -organizing class, fulfilling with a high revolutionary and patriotic spirit its role of a basic force in the whole social and political life of the country. The revolutionary passage of the main means of production into the hands of the entire populace thus paved the way for the full flourishing of our nation and created equal working conditions for all working people, regardless of nationality, and conditions for the affirmation of the independence and sovereignty of the Romanian state.

Starting from the realities of our country and relying on the forces of the people, the Communist Party put in the center of its policy socialist industrialization as a basis for the progress of the economy and the culture, for the raising of the standard of living of the people, and for the multilateral development of society. The efforts made by the working people were concretized in achievements of historical importance. Industry was given a higher and higher technical level, it becoming capable of utilizing more and more efficiently the rich natural resources of the country. The rapid development of industry is reflected very graphically in the growth of gross output by a factor of over 31. The highest rates of development were registered in the period inaugurated by the ninth party congress, which marked a turning point in the orientation of the policy of economic and social construction of the country, the start of a new period of exceptional significance in the life of the Romanian Communist Party and the people and in the socialist development of Romania.

The socialist transformation of the Romanian village, the achievement of cooperative and socialist state ownership in agriculture, and the intensive development and modernization of the production of this important sector of the national economy had a special importance for the forging of the new society.

The multilateral progress of the national economy was accompanied by a profound cultural revolution, by the development of education, culture and science, and by the systematic improvement of the standard of living of the working people.

As a result of the victory of socialism in the cities and the villages, the 10th and 11th party congresses drew up the objectives and the program for the transition of Romania to a higher stage, the stage of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society and of the advance toward communism.

The magnificent socialist accomplishments were possible due to the fact that our party has creatively applied revolutionary theory to the concrete conditions in our country, devising its policy on the basis of the requirements and characteristics of each stage of the socialist revolution and construction.

Evoking the splendid victories obtained by our people during the years of socialist construction, it is fitting to note the deeply characteristic fact that they are the result of the creative, brotherly labor of the Romanians, the Hungarians, the Germans, the Szeklers, the Serbs and the other cohabiting

nationalities, closely united around the Romanian Communist Party--the guiding political force in socialist Romania. In the consciousness of each citizen of the country, regardless of nationality, there has been formed and has taken root the conviction that he is producer, owner and beneficiary of the material and spiritual assets created on the soil of the common homeland. In plants and factories, in fields and in cultural, educational and scientific-research institutions the Romanian working people and those belonging to the cohabiting nationalities work together, in close unity, enjoying equally the benefits of socialism, within the same united economy, organized on socialist bases. "To say that we have obtained these achievements by working shoulder to shoulder," as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "is not a mere figure of speech but represents a living reality of our society of today."<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, the erection of the socialist society, the liberation of all working people forever from exploitation and oppression, and the consistent democratization of political and social life have meant the complete and definitive resolution of the national problem as a component part of the party's general policy for accomplishing the socialist revolution and construction. In our country, socialist ownership, which provides an absolutely equal position for all citizens of the country with regard to the means of production, and the actual guaranteeing for all of the right to work and to payment according to the quantity and quality of the work that they perform, constitutes the solid basis of the equality in rights of all the working people, regardless of nationality. Pointing out this fact, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says that "Only socialism can truly create conditions for achieving real equality in rights between all the working people, regardless of nationality, since it has eliminated the exploitation of man by man, has put the means of production in the hands of the people and has ensured that the working people--masters of the material assets, of the social product--will enjoy fully and equally all the benefits of socialism. We view the national problem in this way and when we undertook the resolution of it we started from these considerations."<sup>6</sup>

In approaching the national problem the Romanian Communist Party started from the reality that, in the course of historical development, Hungarians, Germans, Szeklers and other nationalities settled in some regions of the territory of our homeland. At the same time, a population of Romanian nationality lives in neighboring countries. This situation led to the specific character of the national problem in Romania, a united national state, in which cohabiting nationalities also live. On its territory of 237,500 square kilometers, divided from an administrative viewpoint into 39 counties, Romania has, according to the data of the census in 1977, a population of 21,559,416 inhabitants, including 19,001,721 Romanians (88.137 percent), 1,705,810 Hungarians and Szeklers (7.912 percent), 348,444 Germans (1.616 percent) and 145,269 other nationalities (0.674 percent).

The unity of goals, will and action between the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities in socialist Romania has deep foundations. It generated rich common traditions in the creation of material and spiritual assets

and in the struggle for social and national freedom, for the independence of the native land, in which, together, they have built their homes and lives, acquiring new historical dimensions and rising to a higher stage during the years of socialist construction. Shoulder to shoulder, the Romanian working people and those of other nationalities are effectively and fully participating in the flourishing and the general progress of the common homeland. Only here, in socialist Romania--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out--together with the Romanian people, can the working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities fulfill their aspirations of well-being, freedom and happiness. As it says in the salutation of the delegation of the Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality addressed to the solemn joint session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Grand National Assembly and the central party and state active devoted to the celebration of the centennial of the proclamation of the state independence of Romania, "Faithful to the revolutionary brotherhood, with deep traditions, between Romanians and Hungarians and faithful to the symbols that Doja, Horea, and Michael the Brave left forever in history, we are linked body and soul to these regions, whose geographical coordinates are at the same time coordinates of sentiments and of history, acquiring new and emotional valences in the present area of the socialist homeland.... Together, over the centuries, we have forged a glorious historical past. We are experiencing together a present of heroic labor, in the name of the splendid socialist goals. We have before us a common future of bright ideals, an expression of the will of the entire populace, sources of our enthusiastic labor, our creative energy, which we will devote fully to the triumph of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state and to the full victory of socialism and communism in Romania."<sup>8</sup> In the great moments of Romanian history--it says in the salutation of the delegation of the Council of Working People of German Nationality--"we were together, for better and for worse. Together we fought against foreign oppression, together we sacrificed ourselves in battles against invaders, and we have accomplished the great triumphs that are making our homeland better and better known and appreciated in the world. Whenever the supreme question of history--to be or not to be--was posed to the inhabitants of this country, we were in a close union with the other sons of the common homeland." The sympathy and solidarity of the German nationality with regard to the cause of Romania's independence--its says further--"were expressed in various ways, including in participation in the war of 1877-1878. In particular, our will was expressed, together with that of our Romanian brothers, in the achievement of the Romanian united national state in 1918, both in the assemblies of the Saxon and Swabian representatives and at the Paris Peace Conference. The ideal of independence acquired a new brilliance in the times of triumphant socialism, which has provided full equality between Romanians, Germans, Hungarians and other nationalities. For this ideal--never perishable--we are and remain the sons of the same homeland."<sup>9</sup>

The Ninth RCP Congress, in July 1965, which elected the most beloved son of our people, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to head the party, opened a new period in the expansion and improvement of the democratism of our socialist order, in the provision of the framework suited to the more intense and effective

participation of the masses of working people, regardless of nationality, in the leadership of society. Just 1 month after the congress, the Grand National Assembly adopted, on 21 August 1965, the Constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic, which provides the framework favorable to the full affirmation of all citizens, regardless of nationality, in social life. According to the constitution (Article 2), "All power in the Romanian Socialist Republic belongs to the people, free and master of their fate."<sup>10</sup> Giving sanction to the achievement of equality in rights for all citizens, regardless of nationality, the constitution stipulates, in Article 17: "The citizens of the Romanian Socialist Republic, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion, are equal in rights in all fields of economic, political, legal, social and cultural life. The state guarantees the equality in rights of the citizens. No abridgment of these rights and no difference in exercising them on the grounds of nationality, race, sex or religion are permitted. Any manifestation having as a goal the establishment of such abridgments, nationalistic and chauvinistic propaganda, and the instigation of racial or national hatred are punishable by law."<sup>11</sup> The constitution (Article 22) guarantees to the cohabiting nationalities the right to use the native language in complete freedom.

The constitutional provisions, the laws, the decrees and the regulatory acts reflect the further improvement of the legal framework and the expansion of socialist democracy. Among them we mention: the Law on Organization and Operation of the People's Councils (1968), the Electoral Law of Romania (1974), the Law on the Press (1974), the Decree on the Establishment, Organization and Operation of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education (1971) and so on. In the Law on Organization and Operation of the People's Councils it is specified: "In the territorial-administrative units also inhabited by a population of another nationality than the Romanian one, working people from these nationalities are also elected to the local bodies of state power and the local bodies of the state administration. The local bodies also use in speech and writing the language of the respective nationality and make appointments of functionaries from it or from other citizens who know the language and the way of life of the local population."<sup>12</sup>

In its entire activity the Romanian Communist Party has started and starts from the truth that it is not enough to just proclaim the principles of full equality in rights, just as it is not enough to proclaim only, in a general way, socialism's principles of equality and equity. The mere recognition and affirmation of these principles without providing the material conditions for implementing them lead, in the final analysis, to the perpetuation of inequality.

"It should be clear to us," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "that if we were not to harmoniously industrialize the whole country, if we were to maintain the old backwardness of some zones, no matter how much we may speak of equality in rights, of the fact that in school the Hungarian, German or Romanian language is taught more or less, the inequality would, in fact, still remain!"<sup>13</sup>

In the light of the fact that equality in rights is reflected mainly in the raising of the degree of economic development of the whole country, our party and socialist state have sought the as harmonious placement as possible of the production forces on the territory, the industrial development of all counties of the country. Starting from the concrete realities: the existence of many counties and localities once kept in economic backwardness--there also being among them some in which, besides Romanians, citizens of other nationalities live--our party and state have devoted special attention to uplifting them from an economic and social viewpoint, thus providing the objective basis for the achievement of full equality for all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, and their unimpeded affirmation in all fields of social, political, economic and cultural life. The working people, regardless of nationality, benefit equally from the fruits of their labor.

The consistency of this orientation is reflected strongly in the guidelines of the five-year plans, which provide for a harmonious distribution of the production forces over all of the country, through the blending of the criteria of a social order with those of economic efficiency, in such a way that by 1980 all counties achieve industrial outputs of at least 10 billion lei. This will favor the convergence of the differences between the living and civilization conditions of the population in different zones and will make it possible for a greater and greater number of citizens to be able to utilize their creative capacities as efficiently as possible and to benefit from the advantages of socialist civilization.

This general policy of distributing the production forces throughout the country--a basic requirement for the erection of socialism and communism in our homeland--became a constant, tenacious and consistent concern of the Romanian Communist Party especially after the ninth party conference. As is known, in recent years large amounts of investment funds, far over the national average, were oriented toward the lagging zones, among which were counties where, besides Romanians, working people of other nationalities live. Thus, for example, the average annual rate of growth of gross industrial output was 12.9 percent during the 1971-1975 period, 15.8 percent in Harghita County, 16.3 percent in Satu Mare County and 21.6 percent in Salaj County.

In a corresponding manner, the rates of growth of industrial output were much faster in these counties, it being known, for instance, that while the gross industrial output in the economy as a whole rose 25.4 percent in the first 2 years of the five-year period, Covasna County registered a rise of 35.8 percent, Harghita County 30.3 percent and Salaj County 54.5 percent. Another example, just as graphic, is that of Bistrita-Nasaud County, where the industrial output will rise during the current five-year period at an average annual rate of about 40 percent, and in 1980, as compared with 1975, the output of the machine-building industry will be 20 times higher there.

The strong and harmonious development, throughout the country, of industry, agriculture and the other economic branches has meant and means practically

the actual provision of the right to work for all citizens of the homeland, without having to leave their locality or county, wide access to the gains of science and technology, and the possibility of possessing better and better living conditions and those of a higher civilization.

Consistently applying such an economic policy, the Romanian Communist Party guides itself according to the truth according to which the solving of the national problem is materialized at the same time in the provision of the conditions for the active participation of all inhabitants of the country in economic and social life and in leadership of the whole society. By virtue of the principles set down in the constitution, all citizens, regardless of nationality, participate with equal rights and obligations in the whole political, economic and social life of the country. The national structure of the party, of the other mass and public organizations, of their leaderships at all levels, and of the representative and executive state and economic bodies corresponds to the national composition of the population, providing for the wide participation of the working people, regardless of nationality, in the leadership of their own social life.

Representatives of the cohabiting nationalities belong to the highest state bodies. In the Grand National Assembly, the highest legislative forum of the country, out of the 349 deputies elected in 1974, 40 come from the cohabiting nationalities (29 Hungarians, 8 Germans and 3 of other nationalities). In addition, the cohabiting nationalities are represented on the State Council and in the government of the country.

The elections of deputies in the municipal, city and communal people's councils and those of the sectors of the municipality of Bucharest on 20 November 1977 striking illustrated once again, through the profound significance of the vote of the citizens, the moral and political unity of our people, the unwavering trust of all the working people--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--in the Romanian Communist Party, and their determination to steadily implement its domestic and foreign policy and to fulfill with self-sacrifice the program for economic and social development of Romania. The deepening of the democratism of our order also results from the fact that, in 85 percent of the 56,800 electoral districts, 2 candidates each, both members and nonmembers of the party, were proposed, the voters having the opportunity to choose.

Faithfully reflecting the national structure of the population in the country as a whole and in each locality with a mixed national composition, 90.09 percent of the newly elected deputies are Romanians, 7.38 percent are Hungarians, 1.57 percent are Germans, and 0.96 percent belong to other nationalities. In many communes representatives of the cohabiting nationalities hold the position of mayor and, as well, in some municipal or county-seat people's councils they are elected as chairmen or vice chairmen.

Citizens belonging to the cohabiting nationalities are members with full rights and work in all the organizations and bodies in the political and

social system of Romania: the Romanian Communist Party, trade unions, the Union of Communist Youth, the Communist Student Association, the organizations of women, the Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the artisan and consumer cooperative system, the unions of creation, the associations of scientists, of teaching personnel and of filmmakers, and so on. These organizations collaborate within the framework of the Socialist Unity Front, created in November 1968, a body with a widely democratic character, bringing together all the political and social forces of the country. The Socialist Unity Front constitutes a true national forum of all the social classes and categories, which expresses the strengthening of the social and political unity of the whole society along the line of its gradual homogenization and the deepening of socialist democratism, by means of more and more active participation of all the working people in the decisionmaking process and in the leadership of the state and society.

By means of its composition and prerogatives, the Socialist Unity Front symbolizes--as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out--"the unity of will and action of the entire populace and reflects the process, which is continually becoming more prominent, of transformation of our socialist society into a more and more united society and of creation of the sole working people of the communist society."<sup>14</sup>

In order to provide the proper organizational framework for consulting all social categories and all citizens about the main problems of the domestic and foreign policy of Romania, in the same year there were created appropriate bodies, specific to the cohabiting nationalities--the councils of working people of Hungarian, German and other nationality--set up both at a central level and at a county and local level in the counties and localities in which, besides Romanians, working people of another nationality also live and work.

The councils of the cohabiting nationalities, a component part of the Socialist Unity Front, participate in its entire activity, militating for the continual strengthening of the brotherhood between the Romanian working people and those belonging to the cohabiting nationalities and for the multilateral prosperity and flourishing of the common homeland. The place and role held by these councils in the system of socialist democracy are established in their operating regulation. With regard to the duties of the councils, the regulation provides for their participation, within the framework of the Socialist Unity Front, in the public discussion of the main party and state documents, of the annual and long-term plans for developing the national economy, education, science and culture, and of the measures concerning the general progress of the socialist society in Romania.

The councils aid the Central Committee of the party and the central state and public bodies in examining the specific problems of the respective nationality, for the purpose of finding the best solutions, in accordance with the general interests of the socialist society and of the citizens in the respective nationality.

The councils help to stimulate the scientific, artistic and literary creation done in the native language, in close unity with the development of the creation of the Romanian people with the present social and political life and with the socialist spiritual progress of the whole country. They devote attention to utilizing in the light of the principles of dialectical and historical materialism the progressive heritage of the part and the advanced traditions in the field of culture and art and to cultivating respect for the spiritual values created by the forebears of the Romanian people and of the respective nationality.

Starting from the truth that socialism is the result of the conscious creation of the masses and that the newest achievements of knowledge must be the basis of the entire work of forging the new order, our party and state have devoted and are devoting special attention to the development of education, science and culture. The development and improvement of the system of public instruction and the generalization of mandatory 10-year schooling put Romania from this viewpoint too among the advanced countries of the world.

An essential aspect of the resolution of the national problem in Romania consists in the provision of education in the native language and of the right to freely use it, a right sanctioned by the constitution, so that the working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities can perform their social activity in their own language. Concretizing this constitutional principle, the Law on Education in the Romanian Socialist Republic, adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 13 May 1968, stipulates in Article 4: "The citizens of the Romanian Socialist Republic have the right to education, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion and without any other abridgment that could constitute discrimination."<sup>15</sup> Article 9 of the law stipulates, in conformity with the provisions of the constitution, that "for the cohabiting nationalities education of all grades is also done in their own language."<sup>16</sup>

The preschool, general and secondary education in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities now contains more than 400,000 children. In the 1977-1978 school year, 2,481 units and sections with teaching in the Hungarian language and 692 units and sections with teaching in the German language are operating in our country. In its effort to perform education well, our state provides textbooks free of charge, including in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities, to all pupils in elementary and secondary schools. A part of the children of the working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities study, in accordance with the wishes of their parents, in the Romanian language.

In the 1976/1977 school year, in higher education, out of the 120,000 students in day classes, 9,741 came from the cohabiting nationalities and studied either in the native language or in the Romanian language. The fact that courses in the native language were taught in 20 departments in the country is also illustrative for the Hungarian nationality.

To a wide network of education in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities are added the newspapers, the radio and television programs, the

publishing houses, the state theaters, the institutions of science and culture, and the vast system of mass cultural and educational activity, which all contribute to education in the native language.

The "Cintarea Romaniei" [Song of Romania] National Festival, organized on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, offers a framework favorable to the affirmation of the authentic talents of the Romanian working people and those of other nationalities, whose creation forms a component part of the common spiritual heritage of socialist Romania. In 1977, the artistic movement of amateurs in our country included about 37,000 choral, theater, dance, recitation and other art groups, having more than 560,000 members. Of these art groups, more than 3,700, with 54,000 members, performed their activity in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities.

Last year, 34 daily newspapers, totaling a printing, per appearance, of 3.75 million copies, and 473 journals, magazines and other periodical publications, with a printing, per appearance, of nearly 7,594,000 copies, were published in Romania. Of them, 61 central and local publications, with a printing of 799,298 copies in a single appearance, are published in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities; 33 newspapers and magazines are in the Hungarian language, 10 in the German language and 13 publications in other languages.

In Romania, books are printed in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities at 12 publishing houses, one of which--"Kriterion"--is specialized exclusively for this purpose. In 1977, 315 titles of books were published in these languages, in a printing of 2,664,000 copies.

A total of 14 theaters and musical institutions operate in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities: 6 dramatic theaters, 3 puppet and marionette theaters and 1 opera in the Hungarian language, 2 dramatic theaters and 1 puppet theater in the German language, and 1 dramatic theater in the Yiddish language.

The radio and television programs broadcast more than 6,000 hours per year in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities.

With there rigorously being provided the free use of the native language and access to education and culture in their own language for the working people belonging to the cohabiting nationalities, at the same time the conditions exist so that they can master the Romanian language, which the great majority of the population speaks. Knowledge of the Romanian language offers to the citizens in the cohabiting nationalities the possibility of performing their economic and social activity in any field and in any part of the country and of benefiting completely from equality in rights with all other citizens of the country.

Finally, it is fitting to also mention the freedom to practice religious cults in our country. The rights and freedoms in practicing a faith are

guaranteed by the constitution (Article 20) and regulated by the Law for the General Regulation of the Cults. The conducting of religious life, in church, and catechization are done in the native language. The heads of the cults recognized by the state--Orthodox, Catholic, Reformed, Evangelical, Mosaic and others--belong to the Socialist Unity Front.

The practical resolution of the national problem in our country has had and is having as a result the continual consolidation and development, in higher forms, of the unwavering brotherly unity between the Romanian working people and those belonging to the cohabiting nationalities, which constitutes one of the bases of the durability and force of our socialist order, a factor for accelerating the progress of the country. The Hungarian, German, Szekler and Serb working people and those of other nationalities regard the Romanian Socialist Republic as their common homeland, a loving mother for all its sons, sparing nothing to raise it to the highest peaks of socialist civilization. In the consciousness of the inhabitants of socialist Romania there has taken root the idea that only here, on this land, on which they were born and whose prosperity they are providing, by means of the unity and brotherhood of those who work, regardless of national affiliation, is it possible to attain the bold, inspiring objectives of our socialist order.

In Romania, the indestructible cohesion between the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities and the solving of the national problem on democratic and socialist bases represent one of the great political victories of our socialist order. This is a reality of which all the sons of socialist Romania are proud and which cannot be denied by anyone, no matter how much some reactionary circles abroad may try to do it. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu says, "we are one of the few countries in the world in which full equality in rights has really been provided for all citizens, regardless of nationality."<sup>17</sup>

The splendid triumphs obtained by the working people in our country, regardless of nationality, in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society and for the erection of the new, socialist order are synthesized brilliantly in the program of the Romanian Communist Party, adopted by the 11th party congress, a document of exceptional significance, in the initiation and preparation of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu had the decisive role. The program substantiates in a scientific manner the basic principles of the multilaterally developed socialist society--as a higher phase of socialism--and a number of essential processes of the transition to communism. Within this framework, the program describes the scientific policy of the RCP on the national problem and on the problems of the role and importance of the nation in the contemporary era. In approaching the national problem the Romanian Communist Party starts from the premise that the nation and the national state are called upon to have even further, for a long time, a role of great significance in the progressive development of society.

The Romanian Communist Party also approaches from this viewpoint the problem of the cohabiting nationalities in the stage of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society and in the prospect of the gradual

transition to communism. Referring to this aspect, in the program of the party it says that the nationalities, like the nations, will continue to exist for a long time, both in the period of socialist construction and in that of communist construction. "From the historical perspective, in the age of communism," it is pointed out in the RCP program, "along with the disappearance of the classes and the gradual elimination of the differences between physical labor and intellectual labor and between agricultural labor and industrial labor and the convergence of the living conditions in the villages to those in the cities, the unity of the working people, regardless of nationality--who will be integrated more and more into the process of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and communism and into the sole working people of the communist society--will rise to a new level."<sup>18</sup> The evidencing of this reality and set of problems in the ideological, theoretical and political charter of the party constitutes the strong guarantee of the steady application to life of the revolutionary principle of respecting the full equality of all citizens in our homeland, with the just national policy being an inseparable part of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society and of the advance toward communism.

The unwavering unity of all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality, was also reaffirmed strongly at the recent plenums of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality, during which the respective councils (whose members were designated by the county plenums of the councils) were set up in their new composition and the bureaus of the councils were chosen.

The speech given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the joint plenum of the councils of working people of Hungarian and German nationality constitutes a document of exceptional significance, a model of creative thought applied to solving, under the specific conditions of socialist Romania, political, ideological and social problems with a basic character. The profundity of the analysis of the historical results of the party's policy on the national problem, the richness of the ideas of programmatic value, and the clarity with which there were marked out the main directions of action in the future for the continual cohesion of the brotherly unity of all working people, regardless of nationality, confer on this speech a high theoretical and practical value, the significance of a priceless guide for the practical activity of the party bodies and organizations, of the state bodies, and of all democratic bodies in our society. With good reason, the secretary general of our party pointed out that only "within the framework of the collectivity, of the general development of the homeland, and of the raising of the degree of civilization of the country is it also possible to provide better conditions for manifestation of the nationalities. Any other approach to the problems can only sow misunderstanding and confusion and impede the union of the efforts to steadily fulfill the program for multilateral development of our homeland."<sup>19</sup>

Free and brotherly, the Romanian, Hungarian and German working people and those of other nationalities are forging by means of their joint efforts the

society that provides well-being and dignity to them. Living and working together for centuries, they have always solved their problems themselves. Consequently, now too they decisively reject--as was also reflected in the proceedings of the plenums--the attempts at interference on the part of reactionary circles abroad, attempts that have no other purpose than to sow discord by means of the foul weapon of chauvinism, to break up populations with ancient roots in this land, and to thus strike at the interests of the entire populace and at the work of socialist construction in Romania.

The working people and all citizens of the homeland know no higher goal than the flourishing of the common homeland--social Romania--on whose soil they were born, where their parents and ancestors lived and where, by means of united labor and struggle, they are building a new society, based on justice, equity and well-being. Further strengthening this unity, the Romanian, Hungarian and German working people and those of other nationalities will increase even more their forces in the effort to fulfill in an exemplary manner the mobilizing provisions of the five-year plan and of the supplementary program adopted by the national conference and to forge the multilaterally developed socialist society in our homeland.

#### FOOTNOTES

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4. SCINTEIA, No 568, 8 July 1946.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" [Romania on the Path of Construction of the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society], Vol 5, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1971, p 560.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 5, pp 562-563.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, op. cit., p 567.
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9. Ibid.
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11. Ibidem.
12. "Colectia de Legi, Decrete, Hotariri si Alte Acte Normative" /The Collection of Laws, Decrees, Decisions and Other Regulatory Acts/, 1 November-31 December 1968, VI, 1, Stiintifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1970, p 286.
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14. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 10, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1974, p 283.
15. "Colectia de Legi, Decrete, Hotariri si Alte Acte Normative," 1 November-31 December 1968, VI, 2, Stiintifica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1970, p 523.
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17. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 12, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, p 631.
18. "Programul Partidului Comunist Roman de Faurire a Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate si Inaintare a Romaniei Spre Comunism" /The Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism/, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 151.
19. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Cuvintare Rostita la Plenara Comuna a Consiliilor Oamenilor Muncii de Nationalitate Maghiara si Germana" /A Speech Given at the Joint Plenum of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality/, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1978, p 10.

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# CONTINUITY OF EXISTENCE OF ROMANIAN STATE DISCUSSED

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[Article by Dinu C. Giurescu: "The Continuity of the State With the Romanians"]

[Text] The Romanian people's participation in the significant phases of European history and civilization represents a characteristic trait of our development. We are making our contribution--through recognized works and accomplishments and through many ties with the other peoples--to the construction and advance of this civilization. In each stage, out of the multitude of events, personalities and material and spiritual achievements, there remain realities that, from the perspective of all Europe, have preserved until now their significance and meanings. In ancient times, beginning especially with the 4th century B.C. and continuing for 400 years, the Geto-Dacians also manifested their identity on a political and military plane; 2,050 years ago, they established, under Burebista, one of the strongest states of the continent, and in the 1st century A.D. the kingdom ruled by Decebalus opposed for 2 decades the expansion of the Roman Empire.

The construction of Europe, begun in the 5th century, ended after approximately 800 years. Around 1350, the continent no longer had "blank spaces," and its map contained empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, city republics, and vaivodates. The Romanian people also made their contribution to the construction of Europe with formations and states proper, and one of the characteristic realities is the continuity of their political existence.

Confronted with the periodic waves of migrants, the Romanian communities, having a higher culture, preserved their own social and territorial organization, built on a traditional agrarian and artisan civilization, an organization that also possessed military forces proper.

To the arguments of a linguistic, archeological and ethnographic order we add the testimony of the Hungarian chronicles about the feudal formations of the Transylvanian Romanians.

"Gesta Hungarorum," by King Bela's secretary (Anonymus), recorded, at the end of the 9th century, the existence of three duchies: one in Crisana, between the Somes and Mures rivers, with the center in the city of Biharea and ruled by Menumorut; the second in Banat, between the Danube and the Mures, ruled by Glad, with a center at Cuvin (Keve); and the third duchy, in Transylvania, below the passes of Mezes, at the sources of the Somes rivers, ruled by Gelu the Romanian (Gelou quidam Blacus), with the center near Cluj.<sup>1</sup>

Anonymus lets us know of the lasting character, the continuity of the said formations, and the recognition of their individuality in southeastern European relations. To Usubun and Veluc--the envoys of Arpad--Menumorut mentioned that his ancestors had ruled his country of then and that he had the support of the emperor in Constantinople.<sup>2</sup>

The said Romanian political realities conformed to European evolution in the same period. Ireland's state organization began especially after the invasion of the Normans<sup>3</sup> and was consolidated under the rule of Brian Boru (976-1014) and his successors. With the Czechs, after the attempt to unite the tribes under Samo (623-658), the first prince of Greater Moravia, mentioned by documents, was Mojmir (830-846), whose rule was continued by Rastislav, Borivoj and Sviatopluk. The Poles had some organizations in the second half of the 9th century, followed by the state ruled by Mieszko I (960-992). With the Serbs, the first independent formation, also exercising its authority over Dalmatian cities, was mentioned around the middle of the 9th century, with Prince Vlastimir, and territorial nuclei of the Croats, existing in the 8th century, were united later under Tomislav (910-928). A first union of the Norwegians occurred under Harald Haarfager (Fairhair, circa 872-930). The Swedes stood out among the Nordic peoples during the reign of Eric the Victorious (975-995), and the consolidation went slowly, as with their Norwegian neighbors. With the Danes, an attempt to rally the tribes under Harald "Sharp Tooth" (8th century) did not last. A king of theirs, Gottrik (Gottfred), was contemporaneous with Carol the Great and, a little later, Gorm the Old restored the unity of the reign (circa 935-945). The Hungarians settled along the Tisa and the middle Danube in 896-900, and the Kievan state was formed in the 10th century, along with the Varangian impact.

Recapitulating, the documentary attestations of state formations with the Irish, the Czechs, the Serbs, the Croats, the Norwegians, the Swedes, the Danes, the Hungarians and the Russians date especially from the 9th-10th centuries, that is, in the same period as the Romanian duchies. Without the Hungarian attacks on Crisana, Banat and Transylvania, there would surely have followed the union of these duchies into a bigger state, into a vavodate, as the political formations to the south and east of the Carpathians were to evolve and as, in fact, the Romanian tradition was also to be preserved in Transylvania, which was formed as a vavodate in the feudal Hungarian kingdom.

In terms of territorial size too, the reigns of Menumorut, Gelu and Glad found correspondences in Europe. In Spain, around 900, in the north of the

peninsula not occupied by Arabs, there were Portugal, the kingdom of Leon, Navarre, Aragon, Sobrarbe, Ribagorza, Pallars and the Spanish March. However, with the exception of Leon, all the formations were of very small dimensions.<sup>4</sup> Fragmentation was also present in England (without Scotland) in the decades of the first Danish invasions (9th century): Wessex, Wales, English Mercia, Danish Mercia, East Anglia, Danish Northumbria and English Northumbria.<sup>5</sup>

But in Transylvania there also were other Romanian formations. They were not mentioned by Anonymus because they were, at the end of the 9th century and the start of the next one, beyond the expeditions of Hungarian conquest. But, in contrast, they were put in the documents of the 13th century: the country of Barsa, of Fagaras--with the precise reference "terra Blacorum" (1222)--and the country of Amlas, of Hateg (in 1247)--where the forest of the Romanians and the Petchenegs (sylva Blachorum et Bissenorum--in 1224) was--written attestations that implicitly confirm the existence of these Romanian countries before the indicated dates.

For Maramures, the documents reveal very precisely the Romanian political realities with the principalities situated in the Mara and Cosau valleys, on the Taras, the Tisa, the Talabor and the Viseu, on the upper course of the Iza and on the lower one, all constituting a vaivodate (13th and 14th centuries),<sup>7</sup> over which the rule of the Hungarian state was gradually superimposed.

The attacks and progressive conquest of the Hungarians in Transylvania and Banat, the invasions and establishment of the Petchenegs and the Cumans, and the great Tatar wave in 1241 explain why the Romanian principalities and vaivodates did not unite into big countries until after 1300. In the first two decades of the 14th century, the centralized feudal state of Wallachia was established between the southern Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea. Around 1360, the second Romanian state was consolidated between the eastern Carpathians, the Nistru and the same Black Sea. The Romanian people thus made their own contribution to the political construction of medieval Europe.

Starting with this stage, a characteristic reality is the continuity of the Romanian states, their uninterrupted existence in a Europe in which, through the displays of force, a number of states experienced interruptions of hundreds of years or were permanently broken up. In certain intervals, military force became decisive--for example, in the second half of the 14th century, when the Ottoman Empire extended its borders to the Balkan Peninsula. Around 1390, southeastern Europe included the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Achaea (with an Angevin ruler), the principality of Athens, Albania, Western Macedonia (ruled by Marco Kralievic), Eastern Macedonia (Prince Constantin Dejanovic), the czardom of Bulgaria with the capital at Tirnovo, Bulgaria with the capital at Vidin, Montenegro, Bosnia, Serbia, Ragusa, the kingdom of Hungary, Dobruja (despot Dobrotici), Wallachia and Moldavia--17 states in all.

Around 1500, that is, 110 years later, only 6 were still in existence: the Ottoman Empire, with a border along the whole Danube (from the east of Belgrade to the delta), Wallachia and Moldavia, the kingdom of Hungary, and then Venice and Ragusa. Between 1521 (the conquest of Belgrade) and 1541, a new significant change in the map, along with the breakup of Hungary: the pashalic of Buda was organized in the center of the former kingdom; the western parts and Slovakia were occupied by Hapsburg troops; a part of Banat also became a pashalic, with the seat in Timisoara; and Transylvania, with a few comitats in its west and a part of Banat, formed an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Porte, with a status similar to that of Moldavia and Wallachia. About 160 years later, by means of the treaty of Karlowitz (1699), Austria incorporated Hungary, Transylvania--which ceased its existence as a state--and, after 2 more decades, Banat (1718, Passarowitz). Wallachia and Moldavia, bordered by two empires then, continued to exist as autonomous states. In the 18th century, the expansion of Austria, the czarist empire and the kingdom of Prussia led, in 23 years (1772-1795), to the complete partition of Poland, one of the biggest states of Europe, established more than 800 years before. In 1783, the khanate of Crimea, incorporated into Russia, also disappeared and Tatar rule ceased after nearly 5 and 1/2 centuries. Wallachia and Moldavia continued to exist--with their territory, with their own economic realities and social formations, with administrative institutions and their cultural heritage--a continuity nonetheless marked by successive and harsh abridgments and oppression and by significant territorial losses: Dobruja, Giurgiu, Turnu, Chilia and Cetatea Alba occupied, in the first stage (1417-1484), by the Ottomans; Tighina, Braila and a part of Banat and Crisana also annexed by the Porte (1538, 1540, 1552); Transylvania, Banat and part of northern Moldavia (Bucovina) annexed by Austria (1699, 1718, 1775); and the eastern half, between the Prut and the Nistru, of the same Moldavia incorporated by czarist Russia (1812).

Recapitulating, in 4 very critical phases (the 2d half of the 14th century, 1512-1541, 1683-1699, the 2d half of the 18th century, and the first 2 decades of the next one), when many borders were dissolved and, along with them, many states in southeastern and mideastern Europe, Wallachia and Moldavia continued to exist. But each phase also brought abridgments in the exercise of some of the sovereign rights, along with the said territorial losses, to the benefit of the neighboring empires. Nevertheless, political continuity remained a reality of major significance. In the 19th century, the 2 countries achieved a progressive restoration of their sovereignty, concluded by means of the proclamation of full state independence, recognized also by the European powers (1877-1878). Modern independent Romania was built on the 2 states whose existence was without interruptions since the 14th century, a fact indicative of the participation of the Romanian people in the history of the continent during a period of nearly 600 years.

How is such continuity explained, while other countries, bigger in size, with known goals of affirmation, did not endure? By means of a sensible, balanced use of political and diplomatic means in interstate relations--

including vassal-suzerain relationships, widely applied in the era--(and the facts, with the documentary attestations, are conclusive) and, in cases of maximum crisis--when the territory was invaded and, for a time, a negotiated solution did not seem possible--by means of armed resistance, supported on a broad popular base, with all the masters of the land, big or small, and contingents of the cities being called to arms. The Romanian countries did not conduct a policy of conquests and annexations with regard to other peoples. Their effort was directed toward the defense of their own lands and of their existence as states.

With such methods, Wallachia and Moldavia balanced their relations with the their neighbors Hungary and Poland and were recognized by them. The same ways were also followed with regard to the Ottoman Empire, the great dominant power in southeastern Europe.

The 1st, decisive stage of Romanian-Ottoman relations lasted approximately 100 years, from the last decade of the 14th century to about 1490, an interval in which negotiated solutions alternated with armed conflicts. The Romanians in all the provinces--people from Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Banat, Maramures or Dobruja--and, along with them, at some times, the Szeklers in Transylvania and Hungarian armies participated in this effort, of the greatest amplitude. The continuity of one of the Romanian countries was a premise and a basis for the existence of the others. The long resistance of Wallachia and its recognition as a state delayed and weakened for a time the Ottoman pressure and attacks on Moldavia and Transylvania and, on a wider plane, on the rest of southeastern Europe. The heroic resistance of the Moldavia of Stephen the Great permitted it to reach a bilateral settlement with the Porte, similar to the one concluded earlier between the Porte and Wallachia. The latter, in its turn, benefited, although indirectly, from the struggle of the Moldavian Romanians and preserved its autonomy from its strong neighbor. Just as the long military and diplomatic effort of Wallachia and Moldavia postulated--a fact confirmed many times in the said interval--cooperation with the vaivodate of Transylvania and with Hungary. The reigns of vaivodes Mircea the Old, Dan II, Iancu of Hunedoara, Vlad Tepes and Stephen the Great, who also obtained many prestigious victories, stood out in these 100 years. The victories--as in fact the whole armed struggle--constituted premises, bases of the negotiations, of the political settlements.

When, after the battle of Mohacs (1526), the vaivodate of Transylvania became an autonomous principality, its relations with the Porte and its status followed the basic principles established earlier between the Ottoman Empire, on the one hand, and Wallachia and Moldavia, on the other. The principality of Transylvania (including some comitats to the west, Maramures and a part of Banat) acted in its turn to strengthen the ties with the other Romanian countries to the south and east of the Carpathians. The history of the 3 states in the 16th century can be understood only if we take into account the interdependence of the political, diplomatic and military realities among them and the continuity and expansion of economic and cultural relations.

Such forces and factors of cohesion and the imperative of restoring the independence from the Ottomans found their summation in the union of the Romanian countries (Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia) under the rule of Michael the Brave (1599-1600). Broken up, especially by means of a triple foreign intervention--of the Polish, Hapsburg and Turkish troops--this first political union remained an idee-force in the consciousness of the generations, until its achievement in 1918.

What was the content of the settlements with the Porte? The Romanian countries recognized the suzerain power and annually gave it a sum of money--called tribute--whose payment had the significance of preserving the peace. This was the initial sense of the agreement. The Ottoman Empire recognized, in exchange, the individuality of Wallachia, Moldavia and, later (1541), Transylvania, with their entire state organization, with precisely defined borders, with their own social and economic formations, with the corresponding institutions, with their cultural creation and life, with Ottoman troops being forbidden to enter the territory of the three countries and with Moslem subjects being forbidden to settle permanently in the said territories. The evidence preserved defines the nature and content of Romanian-Ottoman relations. Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania became, on different dates, tributary states with which the Porte concluded treaties (adname--a term that has the very meaning of treaty; later, in European historical and legal literature, adname was translated as "capitulation"). We find references to the adname during the reign of Mircea the Old in Ottoman chronicles, which recorded that the vaivode assumed the obligation to pay the tribute and that, on this basis, Sultan Mehmed I made peace and withdrew his troops, without other conditions. We draw the same significance--the preservation of the peace--from the letter of Mehmed II to Petru Aron (on 9 June 1456): "Consequently, let peace be made, and to it we attach a term beyond 3 months. If the tribute arrives within this period, then peace will be made with my reign (Mehmed II), and if it does not arrive, then you know (what awaits you)." And the adname issued by the same sultan to Stephen the Great specified (leaving out the grandiloquent phrases about the Ottoman power): "...we renewed the contractual oath...; he (Stephen) and his property and country (Moldavia) will no longer suffer any attack on my part (Mehmed II) and of the beys of the sections of the pashalics and on the part of the other bondsmen (subjects) of mine." The succinct wording of the adnames also implies some related obligations--the sending of gifts (peskes) and hostages and an alignment in the choices of foreign policy--obligations that are similar, in general, to those also assumed by other European states that adopted vassal-suzerain relationships.

The contractual character of Romanian-Ottoman relations was maintained in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. In fact, through the action of force, the tribute was periodically increased, various new obligations appeared, and the trade of the Romanian countries was oriented mainly toward the south-Danube market. In the 16th century, the rulers, initially chosen only by the Wallachian or Moldavian nobility, were--but only as an exception--appointed in Istanbul. This practice became frequent after 1600, although, in

this period too, the representative vaivodes and princes were still chosen in the country, with the later confirmation of the Porte. Such abridgments and oppression--consequences of the political and military relations established in favor of the Ottoman Empire, in the southeast of the continent--were regarded only as a necessity that could not be, temporarily, eliminated.

It remains characteristic that by means of repeated negotiations, agreements and alliances with the "Christian" states the Romanian vaivodes tried to find a counterweight for the suzerain power and to eliminate its domination, along with restoring the territorial integrity of their countries. The treaties concluded are completely explicit in this regard.

A relative balancing of the relations with the Porte was also sought through the accentuation of the political and military collaboration between the 3 countries, especially in the 17th century: in 1605-1608, treaties and oaths of allegiance between the Wallachian and Transylvanian rulers; and, in 1608, bilateral agreements between Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia ("the perpetual and inviolable confederation" and "the beautiful confederation"--as the evidence of the time said), a situation compromised, after not even 3 years, by the ambitions of Gabriel Bathory, who had also called himself "prince, by the grace of God, of Transylvania and transalpine Wallachia." His successor, Gabriel Bethlen, "shook hands with the two vaivodes" (Radu Mihnea of Wallachia and Stefan Tomsa of Moldavia) and "they swore that they would be brothers to one another and they would not abandon one another until death," as we find in a contemporary record, an option also strengthened by written Wallachian-Transylvanian agreements (1612 and 1619). The alliance between Wallachia and Transylvania, recorded in seven treaties concluded by Matei Basarab, on the one hand, and Gheorghe Rakoczy I and Gheorghe Rakoczy II, on the other, temporarily consolidated the situation of the two states, with the provision, a significant one, that mutual armed aid could operate against the Turks and the Tatars if they did not respect the existing agreements. Becoming tripartite in 1654-1658--through the political and military support that Constantin Serban Basarab, Gheorghe Rakoczy II and Gheorghe Stefan gave to one another--the alliance was broken up by means of the prompt Ottoman military reaction supported also by a Tatar intervention. Diplomatic negotiations with other states were also added to the said bilateral and trilateral cooperation. The messengers of Vaivode Matei Basarab established confidential contacts with the imperial government in Vienna, with the ambassador of France in Istanbul, with Venice, Poland and the Bulgarian communities. Vaivode Vasile Lupu had contacts with Czar Alexis Mikhailovich, and, in 1656, Gheorghe Stefan proposed to the same sovereign a treaty strengthening Moldavia's independence within the old borders (including the retaking of the territories occupied by the Porte). The principality of Transylvania tried to consolidate its position with regard to the Hapsburgs, with diplomatic negotiations and treaties, alternating with conflicts. Transylvania also allied itself with Sweden and France, in the Thirty Years' War, against the same imperials.<sup>10</sup> Recapitulating, in the 17th century too, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania continued to be

states separate from the Ottoman state, in terms of territory, social organization, institutions, administration and culture. As in the past, in peacetime, the Turkish forces did not have the right to cross the existing borders or to be stationed on the territories of the three countries.

Along with the reopening of the "eastern question," in 1683, and with the change in relative strength in favor of Austria and, later, Russia, the most difficult stage in the existence of the Romanian states began, because the Porte, constantly on the defensive, was strengthening its control over them, and the tribute, with the whole string of obligations and contributions, was increasing, aggravated by the periodic military confrontations between the 3 empires on the Romanian territories (about 23 years of war in the 1711-1812 period). On the other hand, by "liberation from Ottoman domination" the "Christian" powers meant, in fact, the incorporation of the respective territories. The results are known: Transylvania ceased its existence as a state; and the Hapsburg rule was also extended over Crisana, Maramures, Banat and Bucovina (and, temporarily, Oltenia), while the czarist rule was exercised over Moldavia between the Prut and the Nistru. For the inhabitants in question "liberation" meant--as Hungarian historian Mihai Cserey noted in reference to the Hapsburg rule--exchanging "the yoke of Ottoman wood for another of iron." The territorial changes were recorded by the Porte in treaties,<sup>11</sup> which caused Karl Marx to observe, with good reason, that "Turkey could not cede what did not belong to it; because the Ottoman Porte was never sovereign over the Romanian countries. The Porte itself had recognized this, when, at Karlowitz, pressed by the Poles to cede Moldavia and Wallachia to them, it had responded that it did not believe itself entitled to make any territorial cession, since the capitulations conferred on it only a right of suzerainty."<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the Porte's constant opposition to the expansionist inclinations of the "Christian" powers, and the Austro-Russian rivalry, operated to the advantage of the principalities. However, a number of plans of the European diplomats, which, in the prospect of a division of the Ottoman Empire, also assigned the Romanian countries to the various future recipients, were not absent, either.<sup>13</sup>

In an initial phase (1683-1711), given the changes in the balance of power in the southeast of the continent, the decisionmaking factors in Wallachia and Moldavia tried to restore the sovereign rights of the two states, by means of repeated negotiations with Austria and Russia. The treaties concluded by Constantin Brancoveanu with the Hapsburg government (Vienna, 20/30 January 1689) and by Dimitrie Cantemir with Czar Peter I (Lutk, 13/24 April 1711) brought legal recognition of the existence, as states, of Wallachia and Moldavia and noted the prospect of separation from Ottoman suzerainty and, implicitly, of restoration of the independence of the two countries. The treaties and other agreements signed at the same time remained without practical consequence. However, the fact remains essential that the individuality, the territorial integrity and the sovereign rights of the principalities were affirmed and noted in writing, in international documents, signed by the higher authorities of the Austrian and czarist empires (regardless of the real goals pursued by them).

In the 18th century too, under the rule of the Phanariots, Wallachia and Moldavia preserved their internal institutions, tariff system, social structures and cultural life, and they maintained themselves as political entities distinct from the Ottoman Empire. The special status of the principalities was also noted in the treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774, Article 16, Paragraph 9): "The Porte permits the rulers of these two states<sup>14</sup> to have within it a charge d'affaires from the Christians of the Greek community, who will watch over the affairs concerning the said principalities and... will be regarded as persons who benefit from international law, that is, they will be safe from any violence."<sup>15</sup> The internal autonomy of Wallachia and Moldavia also follows from the solemn documents issued by the sultans and regulating the relations with the Porte.<sup>16</sup>

In the complicated events of the 18th century, the initiatives and the possibilities of action of the principalities on a domestic plane became rarer and rarer. They were obligated to fulfill, first, the suzerain power's repeated demands and the periodic deliveries for the troops--Ottoman, Austrian and Russian--engaged in battle.

But, despite these many abridgments and deteriorations, it is significant that, in this period too, the responsible factors of the Moldavian and Transylvanian Romanians affirmed and requested, in writing, the restoration and the respecting of the political rights of their countries. Repeated statements addressed to the representatives of the czarist, Hapsburg or Ottoman government all revived, in various ways, the essential demand of the reestablishment of such rights and invoked the existence of the written agreements between the principalities and the suzerain power.<sup>17</sup>

In the peace negotiations at Focsani between the Russians and the Ottomans (July-August 1772), the Wallachian delegates reminded Austrian plenipotentiary Thugut (a mediator of the negotiations between the belligerents) that "the Moldavian and Wallachian principalities have always been autonomous under their native rulers" and that they regarded the circumstances very suitable "for again requesting our old rights and putting us in a state of independence to which aspire all those who have managed to once taste the sweetness."<sup>18</sup> The reestablishment of independence was formulated directly, or suggested, in six statements during the 1772-1807 period, such as, for example, in May 1791, when the divan of Wallachia, the first forum for a ruler, proposed to the Russian and Austrian plenipotentiaries, meeting in the peace preliminaries at Sistov: the reestablishment of the border on the Danube and the breakup of the Turkish administrative districts on Romanian territory (consequently, the restoration of territorial integrity); the election of the ruler by the responsible factors of the country; independence and neutrality guaranteed by Austria and Russia; and the payment of a fixed tribute to the Porte. In the same period, the union of the two principalities was formulated, also by means of statements--see the one of 24 July/4 August 1772 from Golesti or the one from Moldavia addressed to Napoleon I in 1807.

Although they did not have political rights recognized within the framework of the Hapsburg monarchy, the Transylvanian Romanians (like those in Banat, Crisana, Maramures or Bucovina) also acted in the direction of the restoration of the basic rights of the nation: the steps, the initiatives and the statements of Bishop Ioan Inochentie Micu Clain (1728-1751) and the solemn request "Supplex Libellus Valachorum" (March 1791), to mention only the main manifestations, showed, on the basis of age, of number and of the realities of history, that it was natural and legitimate for the Romanian nation to have the same civil and political rights as the Hungarians, the Szeklers and the Saxons—demands remaining without consequence. However, it is essential that a new stage in the history of the Transylvanian Romanians began in the 18th century, with the formulation of those objectives that, at a favorable time and under favorable circumstances, were to lead to the decision, freely expressed, for union of these Romanians with their brothers, within the borders of a united national state.

While the fulfillment of these legitimate desires was not possible under the circumstances of the time, it remains indicative of the political continuity of the Romanian states that the major objectives, with their bases, were formulated by representatives of the Wallachian, Moldavian and Transylvanian Romanians in the 2d half of the 18th century and at the start of the next one and that these objectives were to be revived, leading to the achievement of union in 1859 and of the great reforms that followed it, until the restoration of full independence, in 1877, and the great union of 1918.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Faptele Ungurilor de Secretarul Anonim al Regului Bela" [The Deeds of the Hungarians by the Anonymous Secretary of King Bela], edited by Popa Lisseanu, Bucharest, 1934, pp 90-92, 94-98.
2. Ibidem, p 91.
3. The first Norman attacks in Ireland were recorded in 795.
4. Carlos-Peregrin Otero, "Evolucion y Revolucion en Romance," Barcelona, 1971, Map 8.
5. G. M. Trevelyan, "Istoria Ilustrata a Angliei" [The Illustrated History of England], Bucharest, 1975, Map VIII, p 107.
6. Stefan Pascu, "Voievodatul Transilvaniei" [The Vaivodate of Transylvania], I, 2d Ed, 1972, pp 146-147.
7. Radu Popa, "Tara Maramuresului in Veacul al XIV-lea" [The Country of Maramures in the 14th Century], 1970, pp 143-167, 193-214.
8. Petru Rares with Ferdinand I of Hapsburg, 1535 (two treaties); Radu Paisie with the same, in 1536; Petru Rares with Joachim, elector of

Brandenburg, in 1542 (four documents); Radu Paisie with Ferdinand I of Hapsburg, in 1543; Alexandru Lapusneanu with Sigismund II August, king of Poland, in 1554; Aron the Tyrant with the emperor of Germany, Rudolf II, in 1594; Sigismund Bathory with the same, in 1595; Michael the Brave with the same, in 1598 and 1600; Serban Cantacuzino with Ivan and Peter, czars of Russia, in 1688-1689; Constantin Brancoveanu with Leopold I of Hapsburg, in 1689; Constantin Cantemir with the same, in 1690; and Dimitrie Cantemir with Czar Peter I, in 1711--for all these treaties, consult: Ion Ionascu, P. Barbulescu and Gh. Gheorghe, "Tratatetele Internationale ale Romaniei, 1354-1920" [The International Treaties of Romania, 1354-1920], Bucharest, 1975, under the respective dates.

9. Tirnavia (1615); Mikulov (1622); Vienna (1624); Bratislava (1626) Linz (1645); in December 1645.
10. Ion Ionascu, Petre Barbulescu and Gh. Gheorghe, op. cit., pp 96-110.
11. Karlowitz, 16/26 January 1699; Passarowitz, 10/21 June 1718; Constantinople, 26 April/7 May 1775; Bucharest, 16/28 May 1812.
12. Karl Marx, "Insemnari Despre Romani" [Notes on the Romanians], published by A. Otetea and S. Schwann, Bucharest, 1964, pp 30, 106.
13. Leonid Boicu, "Geneza Chestiunii Romane ca Problema Internationale" [The Genesis of the Romanian Question as an International Problem], Iasi, 1975, pp 19-75.
14. Wallachia and Moldavia.
15. Ion Ionascu, Petre Barbulescu and Gh. Gheorghe, "Relatiile Internationale ale Romaniei (1368-1900)" [The International Relations of Romania (1368-1900)], Bucharest, 1971, p 229.
16. Such as, for instance, in the Charter of Law (Kanunname) of 1792. See also the sultanic decrees of 1774, 1784, 1802 and 1806; the document of 1783; and the firmans of 1791 and 1792. See also: V. Mihordea, "Les Lignes du Developpement de la Diplomatie Roumaine au XVIII-e Siecle," REVUE ROUMAINE D'HISTOIRE, No 1, 1970, pp 43-62.
17. See, for example, the statements (Wallachian or Moldavian) of 6/17 August 1772, 22 July/2 August 1774, 1/12 August 1774, 30 August/10 September 1774 (two), May 1775, 27 July/7 August 1775, 14/25 November 1789, May 1790, 29 September/10 October 1818, 1818-1820, and so on--Vlad Georgescu, "Memoires et Projets de Reforme Dans les Principautes Roumaines 1769-1830," Bucharest, 1970.

In fact, the European powers--Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia and the Porte--recognized by means of the Paris peace

treaty of 30 March 1856 (articles 22 and 23) and by means of the Paris convention of 19 August 1858 (Article 2) the complete autonomy of the principalities and their separate rule ("an independent and national administration, and the full freedom of culture, legislation, trade and navigation," Article 23 quoted)--N. Copoiu, "The Same Mission to Fulfill," MAGAZIN ISTORIC, IX, No 7, 1975, pp 16-20, and N. Copoiu and Ioana Ursu, "The Union of the Romanians. A Unanimously Recognized Desire," MAGAZIN ISTORIC, IX, No 10, 1975, pp 8-12.

18. Nicolae Iorga, "Genealogia Cantacuzinilor" [The Genealogy of the Cantacuzino Family], Bucharest, 1902, pp 487, 489.

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## ROMANIA

### REPORT ON SYMPOSIUM ON FORMATION OF UNITED PARTY

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 2, Mar-Apr 78 pp 164-176

/Text/ In February 1978 it was three decades since the congress unifying the revolutionary workers movement in Romania, a very important event in the chronicle of the country with deep significance and lessons, which established the vigorous assertion of the united revolutionary party of the working class on the scene of Romanian society. Among the demonstrations dedicated to the anniversary of this historic act created by Romania's revolutionary forces the symposium which took place in Bucharest on 22 February 1978 was a special one. It was entitled "Creation of the united political party of the working class--a result of an historical and objective process and a contribution to enriching the theoretical and practical treasury of the international communist and workers movement."

The symposium was organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies at the RCP Central Committee.

Participating were old militants of Romania's workers movement, party and state activists, personalities in scientific life, researchers, teaching cadres, representatives of working people in Bucharest and students.

The symposium's work was opened by Comrade Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, who transmitted to all participants in this important demonstration a cordial salute from the leadership of our party and from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, wishes for the complete success of the symposium's work. The speaker said: "Our party's secretary general is convinced that today's scientific demonstration also will prove to be a new and powerful assertion of Romania's working people's determination to take action in close unity for

steadfast implementation of party and state domestic and foreign policy and for implementing the historic decisions of the 9th party congress and the glorious program to create the multilaterally developed socialist society and direct Romania toward communism.

Grateful to the party secretary general for the special attention given to our symposium and for his salute and comradely advice, once again we will note here that in the more than 45 years of revolutionary activity, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu always placed party unity and cohesion of the people in the forefront of our aspirations and concerns as a pledge of the steady progress toward communism."

The following comrades gave reports during the symposium: Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies at the RCP Central Committee, "The historical importance of the creation of the united political party of the working class in Romania, a contribution to enriching the theoretical and practical treasury of the international communist and workers movement"; Stefan Voitec, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and vice president of the Council of State, "The importance of creating the United Workers Front in Romania. The United Workers Front--the foundation for the working class struggle to fulfill the tasks of the popular democratic revolution"; Leonte Rautu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, "The RCP concept of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society. The role and contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in working out RCP strategy in the current stage"; Ilie Verdet, RCP Central Committee secretary and member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, "Strengthening party unity, a basic condition for raising its leading role in the work of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society"; Constantin Dascalescu, RCP Central Committee secretary and president of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, "The historic importance of the socialist transformation of agriculture. RCP policy of developing and modernizing agriculture"; Constantin Pirvulescu, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission, "The experience of the struggle of the working class and other democratic and patriotic forces against fascism--a basis for achieving the United Workers Front (April 1944)"; Nicolae Guina, president of the Committee of Former Antifascist Fighters--the RCP at the head of the battle to defend the interests of the working masses and Romania's sovereignty and integrity against the fascist danger and Hitlerist war against the Soviet Union"; Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and RCP Central Committee, "The Concept of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on collaboration of the communists with the socialists and with all progressive and democratic forces"; Neagu Andrei, party activist from illegality, "The 1 May 1939 demonstration, an expression of

the will of our people to defend Romania's integrity and sovereignty"; Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies at the RCP Central Committee, "RCP policy of industrialization of Romania. The working class--the leading force of the socialist revolution and construction"; Mihnea Gheorghiu, president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, "The 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses--Decisive times in accelerating Romania's multilateral progress"; Vasile Ionescu, member of the RCP Central Auditing Commission, "Working class solidarity in Romania with the struggle of the international proletariat and democratic and progressive forces"; Ofelia Manole, party activist from illegality, "Contribution of the revolutionary struggle of the women against the danger of fascism and for defending democratic freedoms"; Banyai Ladislau, vice president of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences--"MADOSZ participation in the antifascist struggle against the bourgeois-landowner regime"; Nicolae Cioroiu, director of the Museum of the History of the Communist Party and Revolutionary and Democratic Movement in Romania, "The united struggle of the working youth against the fascist danger"; Emeric Stoffel, editor-in-chief of NEUE LITERATUR, "Solution to the national problem, an expression of the Romanian Communist Party's Marxist-Leninist policy"; Ion Ceterchi, president of the Legislative Council, "Continued deepening and broadening of our socialist democracy--an expression of the scientific policy of the Romanian Communist Party."

In his report, Comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi showed that the united party of the working class, whose existence and creative activity are indissolubly linked with the big changes which have taken place in modern Romanian society, is the legitimate successor to the Social Democratic Party of Workers in Romania established at the congress held in 1893 in the capital as the united party of the entire working class of Romania. Through this method of establishment, the workers party of Romania stands out positively in the international workers movement.

As the report pointed out, born as the result of the development of Romanian society under the conditions of creating the modern Romanian national state and achievement of Romania's full independence and social-economic progress through capitalism, the working class party of Romania from the beginning was a political formation deeply anchored in specific economic, social, political and spiritual realities of the Romanian people. Placing at basis of its program the fundamental principles of Marxist teaching --the socialist transformation of society through achieving political power and socialization of the means of production--

the revolutionary party of the working class also had its say in the big national problems, such as the need to unite all the Romanian provinces within one unified state; industrial development of the country as a means of ensuring national independence, raising the general material and cultural level of the broad popular masses and their access to the country's leadership and so forth.

The working class party understood the importance of the great event which took place through the masses' will in 1918--accomplishing the unified Romanian national state--which it aided enthusiastically. As the speaker pointed out, "The party was able to have a leading role as the political exponent most faithful to the masses' aspirations due to its unity. While the big workers parties in other countries broke up confronted with the big problem of the war in 1914, Romania's Social Democratic Party remained united in its principled position of defending the existence of the independent Romanian state before the imperialist danger."

From an historical perspective, Comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi showed, one can say that the main result of the workers movement and revolutionary enthusiasm in Romania during 1918-1921 was the achievement of organizational, political and ideological unity of the working class party throughout the unified Romanian state created during 1918. The determination of the workers organizations affirmed at the regional conferences and congresses to establish the battle program at the "big congress" of all organizations, which was to take place in the capital, reflected the profound desire of the broad working masses to assert their solidarity in this way with the uniting of Romanian people from all provinces where they had been for more than 2,000 years. "It is worthwhile to emphasize that in 1921 the working class party was the only one with organizations throughout the country, at this level proving itself the most progressive force of Romanian society was the working class, which made an important contribution through its political organization to the process of creating the unified Romanian national state.

"The May 1921 congress was the congress of a united party."

As Comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi emphasized, the 85-year history of the existence and struggle of our party brings out the conclusion that it has more than 60 years' rich experience as the unified and united party of the proletariat and of the working people of Romania. Its struggle against exploitation and for achieving power recorded special successes, primarily due to its unity and, on the contrary, in the period of the split it met difficulties from all points of view. During the entire interwar period, except in isolated cases, all the workers organizations militated

for rebuilding the unity, which had brought polarization to all the progressive and national patriotic forces to joint actions, ensuring their success. That is how things were with the proletarian battles of January-February 1933, whose success was achieved by the unity of action of the workers, regardless of their political affiliation (communists, social democrats, united socialists, trade unionists and so forth). Also, during the difficult test for the Romanian people in the summer of 1940, when large portions of their national territory were stolen, the communists, social democrats and all patriotic and democratic elements sided with the protest actions against this historical injustice.

As the report brought out, the accomplishment of the national armed antifascist and anti-imperialist insurrection of August 1944 was remarkable with regard to the unity of action of the entire nation and, particularly, the overwhelmingly important role fulfilled by the unity of the working class. Marking a decisive point in Romania's development on a new road, the insurrection opened the way for liberation from under Nazi Germany's domination and for moving to achieve profound social changes in Romania. "The experience of collaboration between the two workers parties in the period which followed," Comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi said, "results in the central conclusion that in the struggle to achieve the goals of the revolution the elements of split could be eliminated and they could go on to increasingly more developed forms of understanding. The very revolutionary process itself brought correctives to the special ideological and tactical positions, which resulted in the continued drawing together of these positions, the evolution of the unity of action toward full unity on the basis of ideological, political and organizational principles of scientific socialism."

Complete rebuilding of the organizational, political and ideological unity of the working class, which was in the full process of asserting and fulfilling its mission as the leading class in the revolutionary transformation of society, provided an enormous incentive for the forces of the working class and all society and became a basic element in the development of our socialist nation. It ensured a solid foundation for workers democracy, which was to influence positively the general course of democracy at the level of the entire society.

"The grand achievements obtained by the Romanian people in their work of building socialism, particularly in the last decade and marked by the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses and adoption of the program to create the multilaterally developed socialist society and guide Romania toward communism adopted by the 11th party congress, Comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi showed, prove forcefully

the role of the party as exponent and promoter of the basic interests of the working class and all the people and as creator and leader of the social system which embodies in a more full and creative blend the power of the people and the national unity, equality, freedom, social equality and justice, prosperity for the country, independence and national sovereignty."

After referring to the pursuits and processes being produced today in the international workers movement, the speaker brought out the special value of the thesis of our party, expressed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with regard to the primary importance held by collaboration between communists and socialists and to the need to proceed from what unites, from the positive experience up to now and to take action from both sides to overcome any difficulties in order to reach a true historical reconciliation between the communist and socialist parties and strengthening of their collaboration.

Comrade Ion Popescu-Puturi broadly pointed out that, through the originality of the process which led to achievement of the organizational, political and ideological unity of the working class and the forms taken by the unification process and through the theoretical lessons it bore, the experience of Romania's working class is an important contribution to enriching the theoretical and practical treasury of the international communist and workers movement.

In his report Comrade Stefan Voitec pointed out that the struggles and actions borne heroically by our working class took place, even during the split, under the banner of unity of action. There were many pursuits, initiatives and attempts to rebuild the unity of action and close the united workers front as well as many achievements crowned with success, their highest expression being the achievement of the United Workers Front in the last half of April 1944, the understanding for joint action of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Social Democratic Party in the middle of a Hitlerist war and military dictatorship. As Comrade Stefan Voitec pointed out, "The never defeated initiatives of the RCP to achieve the United Workers Front and sustained by the will and impetus from the working masses and to which the clearsighted militants and working people from among the socialists and social democrats continually came were uninterrupted, persistent and penetrated with high class consciousness. The effort to establish the workers' unity of struggle and to reconcentrate the wasted forces runs like a red thread."

As the speaker said, the lack of unity marked an obvious, organizational and combat regression although, under the conditions of the creation of the unified Romanian national state following World War I, the numerical force of the proletariat had increased appreciably.

In the 1922-1923 period, he pointed out in continuation, sustained efforts were made actively and consistently by the RCP and the socialist left and trade union workers to safeguard trade union unity but could not be maintained due to the persisting splitting action of the rightwing social democrats. Sustained activity of collaboration between communists and socialists in various mass organizations initiated by the RCP, with broad and varied following, was carried out without interruption between 1923-1940 to defend human rights and democratic freedoms and to pardon political prisoners.

The report showed the importance of the unified actions of February 1926, when the communists and social democrats, on the basis of understandings of a united front placed candidates on the lists of democratic concentration in the village elections in the capital and many locations, being the spur for big and vigorous mass actions against liberal reaction, with many communists and socialists being elected village advisers.

Comrade Stefan Voitec pointed out that "the big movements of demands and strikes of forestry workers, metallurgists, typographers in 1925-1927, of the Valea Jiului miners in 1929, the heroic struggles of the petroleum workers and railroad workers in 1932-1933 and the giant antifascist and antiwar demonstration to defend Romania's freedom and independence of 1 May 1939--a demonstration to whose organization and success an important and active contribution was made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in a unified and revolutionary spirit--proved that only the united working class and workers movement could defeat capitalist exploitation and oppression and could block the rise of fascism to power."

The participation of communists, social democrats and socialists shoulder to shoulder in the same organization, starting in 1936, within the trade unions affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor is a conclusive proof of the immediate fruits of battle. The power of worker unity also became clear in the 1936-1943 period when, following dissolution of the entire trade union movement by the royal dictatorship, the unity of action was successfully demonstrated in the guilds, in which the communists, socialists and social democrats took united action to assert and defend the working people's class interests.

The workers' unity of action, the speaker brought out, which was initiated and solidly organized by the RCP asserted itself as a mobilizing force of the masses in the partial parliamentary elections in Hunedoara and Mehedinti successfully won in 1936.

Even though temporary, the joint actions strengthened the combat spirit against exploitation and persecution, proving that the battle unity of the working class and its parties is possible and can become reality.

"But," Comrade Stefan Voitec said, "we should not forget that whereas for nearly a quarter of a century the working masses in cities and villages were subject to intense exploitation, whereas their political forces were subject to repression, whereas the actual democratic development of Romania was hindered and the way was open for the progress of fascism, all this was the result of the lack of unity in the workers movement with particularly serious results which they brought and permanently maintained. That is why our entire working class, all enlightened revolutionaries and patriots, and all anti-Hitlerist forces with powerful enthusiasm and firm battle determination hailed news on 1 May 1944 that the United Workers Front was settled and that the Romanian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party were taking action in close unity in the struggle to save the country and the nation and to finally unchain all the people. After two decades of confrontations, whose damages were very costly to the working class and the Romanian people, the communists and the socialists were together again during a historically decisive time, determined to take action to save the country and the nation but also to avoid a repeat of the difficult situations which appeared following World War I through joint efforts and common, coordinated struggles."

Recalling the particularly important time in the country's history when the United Workers Front was formed, Comrade Stefan Voitec brought out that it was prepared with total responsibility, overcoming along the way the vacillating of some militants in the Social Democratic Party, with the decision in the end having the unanimous following of the entire socialist leadership, with the belief being sown in the consciousness of all the creators of this historic act that under the new conditions the workers' unity would be at the basis of the democratic and revolutionary struggles in our country and the entire development of events. "Achieved at the level of the leadership of both parties, the unity of action of the communists and social democrats was a political act of national importance and a revolutionary act which would be felt throughout Romania's historical evolution, undoubtedly being at the same time the first unity of action of this kind achieved in the workers movement in Europe."

The speaker stressed that following achievement of the united front between the RCP and the Social Democratic Party, all the social-political events which took place in Romania in the years which preceded and prepared the socialist revolution bear the imprint of of the principled and actual unity between the communists and the social democrats, a unity which also saw a rising evolution in close connection with the development of the popular democratic revolution. "This rising process, which was crowned through unification of the two parties, saw development of collaboration between the RCP and the Social Democratic Party on many levels, a

development at whose foundation is the common principled and actual position of the two parties on Romania's basic commandments."

Comrade Leonte Rautu showed in his report that the years which have passed since the congress of unification were years of great victories, achievements and imposing successes for our people. Proceeding from the idea that it is not a matter of simple quantitative increases but rather an historical situation rich in qualitatively new elements at all levels and a phase of our entire system's maturing, the party defined as the basic strategic goal of the current historical stage the creation of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the creation of conditions for Romania's progress toward communism. As the speaker stressed, "The father of the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society is the secretary general of our party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recent 60th birthday and celebration of more than 45 years of revolutionary activity were occasions for a broad emphasizing of the decisive contribution of exceptional scientific value which the party's secretary general has made and is making to solving all the major theoretical and practical problems, domestic and international, facing the party and our people, to enriching revolutionary thought in a spirit of big innovative boldness, of clearheadedness, of implacable adversity to any static, immobile view on national or international realities. All these qualities are fully expressed in substantiation of the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society, which is one of the most valuable elements of our party's theoretical heritage and, at the same time, an original contribution at the level of discussions and confrontations of opinions internationally on the defining characteristics and features of socialism, stages which the revolutionary process into socialism sees in its dialectical evolution."

Our party excludes any simplifying view of the socialist system or any tendency to feel that the establishment of socialism can solve all the problems of the new system through a kind of automatic process. In defining the goals of the current stage of development of our society, expression is given to a dialectical view which sees socialism and the socialist system not as a finite act but rather as a continuing revolutionary process. This type of really revolutionary view of the process of building socialism and communism, Comrade Leonte Rautu brought out, fertilizes all the activity of the Romanian Communist Party, causing original forms of organization and action. In this context, the speaker brought out the original means for the party to carry out its role as the leading political force and its organic integration into society life, the creation and continued improvement of the organizational framework of the working class and all the people participating in the management of society, the improvement in the activity of the functions of the socialist

state with a view to strengthening its role in the unified leadership of social-economic life and achievement of radical, deeply democratic changes in ruling the country--areas to which the recent National Party Conference made new, exceptionally important contributions.

The report stressed that a creative treatment of the problems of economic growth in socialism with vast and multilateral scope, determination of the maximum rationale of it on scientific bases in indissoluble connection with the objective need to eliminate the differences separating us from the economically advanced countries in historically short periods are characteristic of our party and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. In this area of concerns we particularly should point out the establishment of the optimum economic macroproportions and substantiation of high rates of economic development, the principled positions on the role of the single national plan and application of democratic centralism in the economy, the joining of current planning with long-range plans and with a strategy of economic development, the concept of distributing production forces throughout the country, the thesis on the need for certain radical and revolutionary transformations in all areas of science and technology as the basic factor in speeding up Romania's multilateral progress. In the spirit of these guidelines, the national conference placed accentuation of the intensive nature of the development in the center of the party's economic concerns, giving priority to the quality aspects of economic growth.

The current stage, the speaker said, of profound changes in human life which cause many new problems which the classics of Marxism could not foresee, despite all the force of their genius, requires a creative treatment of the theory of scientific socialism and the introduction of an idea springing from historical, national and international realities of the era we are living in into revolutionary thought. "With justifiable pride we see the role our party and its leadership have in promoting the concept according to which each communist party and each socialist country have not only the right but also the duty to make its own original contribution to enriching the theoretical and practical heritage of revolutionary Marxism, making its contribution through the results of its activity in increasing the forces of socialism in the world and in raising the attractive power which the ideas of socialism exercise today. The revolutionary, internationalist policy of our party finds its perfect expression in this position, a policy whose brilliant exponent and lifegiver is the leader of our party and state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu."

In his report, Comrade Ilie Verdet broadly referred to our party's experience in cementing the unity of action of the working class

and in strengthening the indestructible cohesion of the party ranks and all the people, stressing that only a communist party whose ranks are closely knit together has the strength and capacity to be able to undertake practical and concrete actions on political, economic and social changes, achieve a new type of unity in the international communist movement and affirm itself equally as a national detachment with full autonomy in working out its political line and the forms and methods of practical actions.

Party unity, he pointed out in continuation, was given an invincible force by the 9th party congress, which put internal party life on a new path, marking a radical turning point in party activity and in Romania's political and social life. Spurred on by its decisions and, more importantly, the political climate created, party work saw a powerful revitalization, respect for the basic norms of the state rising to the rank of law in all party organs and organizations. Generalization of the principle of collective work and leadership, which became a method of practical action at all levels from top to bottom, had a healthy effect on battle cohesion, will and action of all party organs and organizations and the party as a whole. Today our party, more powerful than ever, the more than 2.7 million revolutionary militants in its ranks, are taking action shoulder to shoulder in an impressive unity, committed with all their forces and capacity for work and creation, together with all working people, to the grand work of building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

As Comrade Ilie Verdet pointed out, the preponderance of workers in its ranks is particularly important for ensuring the party's organizational, political and ideological cohesion. The current social composition of the party, in which workers represent more than 51 percent, in itself proves the party leadership's consistent concern with primarily taking into the party the best and most reliable sons of the working class.

The speaker stressed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptional role in continually consolidating party unity, in creatively treating the vital problems of the socialist revolution and construction, in scientifically substantiating party policy and the party battle program in whose achievement all the people are mobilized with all their energy.

Comrade Constantin Dascalescu brought out the decisive role of the Romanian Communist Party in the organization and leadership of the broad process of building socialism in the villages and in the development and modernization of agriculture. The speaker stressed the importance of the decisions of the 3-5 March 1949 RCP Central Committee Plenum on organization of the state sector in agriculture and the transition to the cooperativization of agriculture. The socialist transformation of agriculture was

achieved gradually through vast political, organizational and educational activity carried out by the party in order to attract the peasantry on the basis of free agreement to the new forms of the social organization of agricultural production, with the achievement of the socialist transformation of agriculture marking the complete victory of socialism in the villages, elimination of exploitation of man by man, generalization of socialist production relations and the transformation of the peasantry into a new, homogenous class which is owner of the means of production and the fruits of its labor.

Continuing, the speaker showed that the socialist transformation of the village was not a final point. In adopting the strategy to develop agriculture our party proceeded from the concept that production relations are only the social framework for achieving a modern agriculture and that the advantages of the socialist system for organizing agricultural production can be fully utilized only through the continued development of the material-technical base, through mechanization, chemification and irrigation and through broad-scale application of progressive techniques.

In working out this concept, the report emphasized, the 9th party congress had a decisive role; bearing the powerful imprint of the personality of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, it meant a crucial moment in all the basic areas of Romania's economic, political and social life. Defining the place and role of agriculture in Romania's social-economic development with the clearheadedness which is his and scientifically substantiating the directions for intensifying and improving the organization and leadership of it, the party secretary general pointed out that in Romania agriculture is a basic branch of the socialist economy and that without an intensive, highly productive agriculture organized on the basis of the newest achievements of science we cannot ensure either the creation of the multilaterally developed socialist society or the building of communism in Romania. This thesis, of exceptional theoretical and practical importance, was brilliantly set out in the party program, thus becoming a lever of action for the entire party in the development and modernization of this branch of material production.

In establishing the role and functions of agriculture in Romania's social-economic development, Comrade Constantin Dascalescu said, the party proceeds from the fact that Romania has conditions available to produce nearly all the products needed by the economy. According to this view, as a basic component the intensification includes the multilateral development of agriculture. In this way, there is more efficient utilization of the varying pedoclimatic conditions, production as a whole is less affected by the oscillations of natural factors and fluctuations in the international

market situations, which ensure a relatively stable contribution of agriculture to the development of the national economy.

Our party's concept of the development and modernization of agriculture is a unified, all-encompassing concept and it includes not only the production forces but also production relations and the entire process of improving the methods and forms for organizing and leading agriculture. As the report stressed, upon the personal initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the bases were laid for the organization of intercooperative councils and associations, various forms of cooperation between the state and cooperative units and measures were taken to strengthen the principle of collective work and leadership at the level of each production unit. At the same time, representative, broadly democratic leadership organs were created, such as the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and the county unions, the Central Commission of Agricultural Producers from Noncooperativized Zones and county commissions and the National Council of Agriculture. These profoundly democratic organs ensure the organized participation of the peasantry and all working people in agriculture in working out our agrarian policy, in conducting affairs of state and in creating their own future conscientiousness.

"The party's agrarian policy, in whose elaboration and achievement Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu played a decisive role," the speaker pointed out, "ensures the development of agriculture in accordance with the vitality of our entire social and economic life, at the same time being an original contribution to enriching the theory and practice of the international communist and workers movement and in building the new social system."

Feeling that the event being celebrated comprises the conclusions of the rich experience accumulated starting with the 20's and a tradition of unity which goes back to the beginnings of the workers movement in Romania, Comrade Constantin Pirvulescu showed that the United Workers Front, achieved in April 1944 between the RCP and the Social Democratic Party, was at the base of this historic achievement of the Romanian working class; this front continually developed and extended to the trade union movement and in mass actions to establish and consolidate revolutionary-democratic power and to the activity of the communists and social democrats in parliament and in the government.

As the report pointed out, achievement of the United Workers Front was prepared by the entire struggle carried out by the Romanian working class in the decades following creation of the RCP. In this framework, the experience and influence of the big proletarian struggles of January-February 1933 were presented; they proved the correctness of the RCP policy to achieve the united front in the struggle to satisfy the daily demands of the workers. The United

Workers Front was expressed in the most varied forms in the fire of the powerful mass movements which took place then, in demonstrations and strikes, in actions carried out within the enterprises as well as in the broad proletarian solidarity achieved with the petroleum and railroad workers who were struggling.

This policy also was verified in the broad actions which took place in 1934-1938. In those years the communist party in particular was oriented toward concentration in a common antifascist front of all the revolutionary and democratic organizations, at the same time leaving the door open to all those parties, groupings and organizations of other political leanings which wished to collaborate in the bold defiance to fascism. In this regard, the RCP also addressed appeals many times to the most diverse parties and political groupings and obtained a number of important successes. For example, the democratic bloc was the one which concluded an agreement of democratic and antifascist collaboration with the Socialist Party (Popovici) on 26 November 1935 in Bucharest. The correctness of the policy of broad alliances promoted by the RCP was forcefully confirmed in the partial and village elections of 1936-1937, when the reactionary forces were defeated. Representatives of the democratic forces or persons supported by them were elected in Hunedoara and Mehedinti counties as well as in the county councils of Ploiesti, Cluj, Iasi, Bihor and in other parts.

The firm and varied actions of the democratic forces in Romania in 1933-1937, at whose base were the struggle and unity of the working class, hindered for a time the rise of fascism to power and represented an experience which would be used successfully in the coming period, when the united front of the working class would develop and strengthen, both at the base, the bottom, as well as at the level of the leadership forums.

In the conditions of the grave events of 1940-1941, Comrade Constantin Pirvulescu pointed out, the Romanian Communist Party adopted a clear position, calling all the nation's forces to unite in a single front and take action with all means to overthrow the Antonescu dictatorship and establish a democratic system, organizing and leading the broad antifascist resistance.

Despite the preventive measures taken by the Antonescu regime and the particularly drastic repressions, in 1940-1943 in all areas of the country and, in particular, in the workers centers, important revolutionary actions took place in which workers of other political beliefs, particularly socialists and social democrats, participated alongside the communists. Thus, valuable and effective experience was accumulated which led to the conclusion that the unity of action of the working class had to be at the basis of the masses' revendicative actions and the struggle.

against the domination of Hitlerist Germany and for freeing the country and including it in the anti-Hitlerist coalition. On the basis of this conclusion, in its January 1942 resolution the RCP Central Committee was to emphasize the need for achieving a united front between communists and social democrats "everywhere possible," on the local, regional and national scale.

In this situation, the report brought out, when life day by day was demonstrating the correctness of the policy of unity promoted by the RCP, important changes of opinion in favor of the united front were established in the Social Democratic Party. This also explains why the leadership of this party at the beginning of 1943 adopted a resolution on the unity of action of the workers parties and another referring to the unification of the trade union movement, both presented by Comrade Stefan Voitec, an active militant for collaboration between socialists and communists.

Following the development of contacts between the representatives of the Romanian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, whose result was establishing the agreement of the two leaderships on the vital problems facing them, in the first half of April the formation of the United Workers Front was achieved. "Creation of the United Workers Front under the conditions of the struggle against the Antonescu dictatorship and Hitlerist domination," the speaker said, "had vital importance for carrying out the plan to overthrow Antonescu and was a guarantee for the later development of the anti-Hitlerist struggle in a broad movement of social and national liberation."

Following establishment of Hitlerism in power in Germany, Comrade Nicolae Guina pointed out in his report, the communist party and the other workers parties felt that one of their main duties was the mobilization of the masses to struggle against this grave danger for the fate of civilization and people's liberty. The RCP took the initiative to unite all the forces opposing fascism in a Popular Antifascist Front, whose basic pillar had to be the United Workers Front.

The antifascist struggle carried out by the Romanian people gradually included broader and broader political circles. At the front of those opposing the Antonescu dictatorship and the Hitlerists and the Hitlerist war was the communist party, whose tactic reflected the concern with those major goals which viewed the fate of the national existence of the Romanian people.

Comrade Stefan Andrei stressed in his report the broad recognition and appreciation of the substantial contribution of our party's secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, both in theoretical elaboration as well as practical action, in affirming and promoting

dialog, understanding, solidarity and collaboration on new bases of all the exponent forces and those bringing social progress as a basic condition for the success of the revolutionary struggle. In this framework, the speaker pointed out the current nature of the theses from our party program on achieving veritable historical reconciliations between communists and socialists intended to be the base for rallying all working people and the great majority of the people to transform society in accordance with the inexorable demands of history.

By developing relations with the socialist and social democratic parties and other progressive organizations, Comrade Stefan Andrei pointed out, our party proceeds from the determination that in many countries these parties actually exercise or participate in exercising political power in the particular countries and from the conviction that by acting in this way it makes a concrete contribution to crystalizing the united trends within the left forces and to aiding the efforts made in this regard by the communist parties. Our party stresses each time that above the ideological differences the basic thing is to place the emphasis on joint action for the purpose of asserting and promoting the interests and aspirations of the working class and working people, with the united struggle being the most fertile framework for clarifying positions and for verifying in the field of social practice the theoretical postulates and precepts and the viability of political orientations and tactical procedures.

Comrade Andrei Neagu broadly outlined the role of the Romanian Communist Party in carrying out the revolutionary, antifascist demonstrations of 1 May 1939 in Bucharest, a special point during the struggle against the royal dictatorship and the fascist danger and for defending the country's independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The speaker brought out the merit of the RCP in achieving collaboration with the socialists and social democrats which was at the base of the mass actions of 1 May 1939.

One of the first measures taken by the party leadership during the 1 May 1939 political campaign, the report brought out, was the convocation of a broadened session of the committee of the Bucharest local party organization. At that time a commission was established which received the task to coordinate implementation of the communist party program. A member of the commission was Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with other revolutionary militants.

In this framework, the speaker stressed that "the entire series of preparations and organizational measures which brought the revolutionary, antifascist and patriotic nature of the meetings and demonstrations in Bucharest on 1 May 1939 were closely linked

with the activity of the capital's revolutionary youth. The presence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the commission for organizing 1 May shows the significance of the value which the party placed on his merits, his political judgment, his boldness and the revolutionary intransigence he had proven under many circumstances."

In the report he presented Comrade Gheorghe Zaharia stressed the consistent orientation of the Romanian Communist Party toward the industrial development of Romania, recalling that from October 1945, when the guidelines for the industrialization policy were outlined we have reached the current stage of powerful industrial development marked by the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses and the 1967, 1972 and 1977 National Party Conferences. Implementation of the industrialization policy at a high and sustained rate is the primary factor in development of the production forces, Romania's social and economic progress, and rise in the Romanian people's standard of culture and civilization.

The speaker brought out the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the theoretical substantiation and practical promotion of the general policy of our party and state, which corresponds to the deepest aspirations of our nation and the continued flourishing of socialist Romania. "Combining through his origin and social affiliation the understanding, tenacity and revolutionary spirit of the working class and working peasantry with the power of analysis and synthesis belonging to the intellectual who is receptive to everything new and progressive, the exceptional son of the Romanian people was identified from his youth with the true history of his people and with their successes and their sufferings, just as the best steel is tempered. Believing in the ability of the working class to organize and lead the struggle of all the people for social and national freedom and conscious of the people's creative ability, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu served their interests for more than 45 years, gathering rich revolutionary experience in the activity of leading the most diverse areas and all social life. His merit is that he restored the natural, legitimate and organic place of life and struggle of our working class and its revolutionary party in the history of the Romanian people. Actually writing the history of the working class, the party secretary general steadfastly militated for asserting the role which belongs to the workers as the leading social force of society and for the continued development of the workers' revolutionary spirit in all areas of Romanian society."

The vitality of Romania's postwar social history along the line of continuity and progress, Comrade Mihnea Gheorghiu pointed out, furnishes one of the most powerful modern arguments favoring legal progressive development on the basis of one's own national effort guided by a scientific theory gradually freed of prejudices and

obsolete political-economic superstitions and animated by an optimistic belief in the fate and power of the working people.

Proceeding from here, the speaker moved on to review the main stages of Romania's social history in the years since the 9th party congress, bringing out that, through the scope of the social-economic, political and cultural achievements and changes which took place since then in the country's life, this period today is defined as being the most dynamic and fertile in the history of our people. The decisive points in accelerating Romania's multi-lateral progress, the 9th, 10th and 11th party congresses, were progressively solidary and took action in this way, both in the economic process of development as well as as an exemplary process of the creative enrichment of revolutionary Marxist thought in a socialist country.

Comrade Mihnea Gheorghiu stressed that this social-economic, political and ideological qualitative leap, followed by the broad process of the militant commitment of our country in treating and solving the cardinal problems of international life, is due to the political thought and practical activity of our party's secretary general, heading the party and state, who is a real exponent of the aspirations for the progress and prosperity of our socialist nation.

As Comrade Vasile Ionescu pointed out in the report he presented, from its beginnings the workers movement in Romania organically joined ardent patriotism, service to the vital interests of the Romanian people full of self-denial with international solidarity, consistently aiding the struggle of the proletariat and the democratic and progressive forces in other countries. One can say that there is no important point in the history of the international workers movement in which Romanians were not present and did not make their contribution to the struggle of the revolutionary forces for freedom, independence, progress, peace and for socialism. In turn, the democratic and workers forces in Romania continually felt the aid of the international workers movement. Documents of the time bring out the position of solidarity adopted by the working class from other countries with the struggle of the Romanian proletariat for freedom and justice, independence and socialism. International solidarity with the workers movement in Romania reflects the esteem and appreciation which the struggle of the masses of working people enjoys to defend the vital social and national interests of the Romanian proletariat and people.

Seen in their totality, the report brought out, the demonstrations of solidarity of the workers movement in Romania with the workers movement in other countries add new elements and distinctive features to the general picture of the international solidarity of the working class throughout the world.

The Program of the Romanian Communist Party adopted by the 11th party congress, the speaker brought out, affirms the international solidarity with all the progressive forces of modern times as one of the basic permanent orientations of the foreign policy of the socialist Romanian party and state. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptional contribution to the development of this policy of international solidarity is a permanent thing in the life of our party.

Comrade Ofelia Manole referred to the traditions of struggle of the revolutionary women's organizations, showing that from the moment in which the danger of fascism and revisionism threatened our country the women's movement joined the big struggle of the democratic and patriotic forces to safeguard the interests of the Romanian people, in the struggle for social rights, in the big front of the people's struggle against fascism. The report brought out the concerns and actions taken by the communist party to broaden revolutionary and patriotic activity and to include new sections and social strata of women in the ranks of the democratic women's movement.

Recalling some very interesting actions launched by the "Romanian Women's Front" for peace and to defend the country's independence and sovereignty, an organization created on RCP initiative, the speaker told of the importance of women's participation in the revolutionary, antifascist demonstrations of 1 May 1939, during which the young communist struggler Elena Petrescu-Ceausescu asserted herself through her revolutionary combativeness.

In his report, Comrade Banyai Ladislau broadly outlined the RCP struggle during the interwar years for the rights and democratic freedoms of the working people in Romania, without regard for nationality, and he recalled a number of times during the workers movement in Romania which brought out the close unity and fraternity of the working class and all the exploited peoples--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities--for the same basic social and national aspirations.

As the speaker showed, the RCP militated for rallying the Hungarian working people in the antifascist struggle, which led to the creation of the mass organization, the Union of Hungarian Working People of Romania (MADOSZ). "During the royal dictatorship, following the ban on political parties, MADOSZ found many ways to demonstrate, involving broad masses in the struggle for democratic freedom, equality of rights and against the Hitlerist and Horthyist aggressions. In its propaganda MADOSZ used the anniversary of the joint struggles of the working people, regardless of nationality, against the common oppressors, also recalling the bitter lessons of the small peoples on the Danube who, being divided, were subjugated more than once by the big empires surrounding

them which threatened even their national existence. MADOSZ took action against the Vienna Dictate, unmasking the crimes and atrocities committed by the fascist-Horthyist occupation. It struggled closely united with the Romanian democratic forces against the anti-Soviet Hitlerist war, being present in the Anti-Hitlerist Patriotic Front formed in September 1943."

The age-old common aspirations of the Romanian, Hungarian, German and other peoples, Comrade Banyai Ladislau emphasized, found in the Socialist Republic of Romania fulfillment, establishing more and more relations of mutual value and close solidarity due to promoting the noble cause of equality and fraternity by the Romanian Communist Party, headed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comrade Nicolae Cioroiu spoke of the united struggle of the working youth who, guided and led by the Romanian Communist Party, joined the ranks of the Union of Communist Youth and other revolutionary and democratic organizations and took decisive action to defend the specific and vital interests of youth against reaction and the fascist danger and for democracy and peace.

The speaker brought out that "Among the young communists who were heading the struggle to fulfill the working class' aspirations and to fulfill the dreams for liberty and justice of the broadest strata of the population was the fearless revolutionary and anti-fascist, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, member of the National Anti-fascist Committee leadership. Participating in meetings of the National Antifascist Committee and the National Antifascist Committee of Youth, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as the press of that time wrote, 'spoke about youth and the fascist danger and gave examples taken from the life of the young worker which counted a lot in evaluating the need for the antifascist struggle.' Communist, socialist, worker, student and intellectual representatives participated in restricted sessions of the National Anti-fascist Committee of Youth."

In 1938-1939, Comrade Nicolae Cioroiu pointed out, when Romania's international situation was becoming more and more complicated, "the revolutionary and democratic youth actively participated in the wave of revolutionary struggles during this period and in the big antifascist demonstrations which occurred on 1 May 1939, in the preparing and organization of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu had an important role.

"The reorganization of the Union of Communist Youth in October 1939, to whose leadership Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was elected, had special importance for organizing the youth's united struggle against the danger of fascism and for defending national independence and the territorial integrity of our country."

Pointing out in his report that solution to the national problem was and is one of the most important achievements of the socialist revolution and building of socialism in Romania, Comrade Emeric Stoffel referred to the Romanian Communist Party's struggle against the policy of national oppression and discrimination against the working people on the basis of their nationality and to defend the interests of all working people and to defend national unity and the country's independence and sovereignty.

The report brought out the importance of promulgating the Statute of Nationalities which, as later constitutions adopted, created the legal framework, legal guarantee and actual exercising of the complete equality of all Romanian citizens in all areas of economic, political, legal, social and cultural life. Hungarian, Szekler, German working people and those of other nationalities, the speaker pointed out, are determined to contribute with all their forces, together with the Romanian people, to building the multi-laterally developed socialist society. Fulfillment of the program adopted by the 11th party congress ensures all citizens a bright future in our country, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In the vast problem of building the new system, Comrade Ion Ceterchi stressed in his report, a very important political and theoretical place is held by the concept of our party of the relationship between socialism and democracy, of the ways and means to achieve, develop and continually deepen socialist democratism throughout social life, in party, state and public activity and in the leadership of society.

It is the merit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's creative thought and political action that, proceeding from Romania's historic and national realities and from the demands of Romania's current stage of development, the appropriate and original organizational framework was created to ensure the deepening and broadening of socialist democracy and the participation of working people without regard for nationality in leadership and to achieve the governing of country by the working people in the working people's interest.

In closing the symposium's work, the participants sent a telegram to the party Central Committee and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in which they wrote:

The participants in the symposium on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the historic workers forum of 21-23 February 1948, at which the achievement of the full unity of the working class and creation of the united party were achieved--a very important point in the 85-year history of the political party of the working class--send our thoughts full of recognition to you, beloved

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who for more than 45 years have militated tirelessly for the unity of the workers forces in the struggle for the triumph of socialism on the Romanian land.

Recalling significant points in the struggle to create the united party of our working class, the reports and discussions held pointed out the tireless activity which you have carried out and are carrying out at the head of our party to build the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. The participants brought out the intelligent policy carried out by our party under your clearsighted leadership to solve the complex problems of building the new society, in which a central place is held by strengthening the unity of all the people, all working people, Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and those of other nationalities, a determining factor in all our victories and the forward progress toward communism.

At the same time, our symposium pointed out that modern international events, as you stress, require more than ever the strengthening of the unity of the working class and all progressive forces on new bases and the achievement of an historic reconciliation between communists and socialists.

The symposium participants, learning from the history of the working class' struggle and that of the peasantry and all the people who in close unity and under the party's and your leadership, beloved comrade secretary general, are determined to work with all their forces to implement the program to build the multilaterally developed socialist society and communism in Romania and to commit themselves to serve ceaselessly the revolutionary cause of the party, the independence of our country and the cause of peace and socialism.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEW FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 78 p 4

[Text]

Veselin Duranovic, president  
of the Federal Executive Council



Born in 1925 in Martinici, Danilovgrad Opstina, SR Montenegro, Montenegrin. Joined SKOJ [League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia] in 1941. As a SKOJ activist he took part in the 13 July uprising of the Montenegrin people, in the boycott of schools controlled occupying forces, and in SKOJ work in occupied territories until April 1943 when he was arrested by Italian occupation authorities and imprisoned in the Zabjelo concentration camp. Upon Italy's surrender he was liberated from the Zabjelo camp, and from that time until the end of the war he took an active part in the national liberation struggle as a youth movement leader.

He participated in the first and second congresses of Antifascist Youth of Montenegro which were held in November 1943 and December 1944. He became a candidate member of the CPY in 1943 and a full member of the CPY in January 1944. He graduated from the Political-Party Studies School in the class of 1947-1948. He has served as chairman of the Central

Council of the SSRN [Socialist Alliance of the Working People] Montenegro, president of the Executive Council of the SR Montenegro, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee and president of the Central Committee of the LC Montenegro. He has served as the president of the Federal Executive Council since 15 March 1977.

He was elected as a member of the Central Committee of the LC Montenegro at the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth congresses of the LC Montenegro and as a member of the Central Committee of the LCY at the eighth, ninth, and tenth congresses of the LCY.

He is the holder of several decorations including inter alia: the Order for Bravery, the Red Banner Order of Labor, the Gold Star Order of Meritorious Service to the Nation, and the Golden Wreath Order of the Republic.

#### Federal Secretaries

Josip Vrhovec, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs



Born in Zagreb in 1926. Croatian. Graduate of the Economics Faculty in Zagreb and the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade. Played an active role in the national liberation struggle after 1941 when he was admitted into SKOJ. LCY member since 1944.

Pursued an active career in the field of journalism. Served as foreign affairs editor and later as editor in chief of VJESNIK U SRIJEDU and VJESNIK. Served abroad as a permanent and special correspondent in various countries. Also served as secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the LC Croatia and as chairman of the Commission of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee for Ideological and Theoretical Work.

He is the holder of numerous Yugoslav and international decorations.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee.

Nikola Ljubicic, Federal Secretary for National Defense



Born in 1916 in Karan, SR Serbia. Serbian. Graduate of the Higher Military Academy in Belgrade. Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941." Member of the LCY since 1941. General of the army, national hero.

Prior to 1948 served as a division commander and later as commander of the Border Units Corps, director of the National Defense School, commander of the First Army, deputy to the Federal Assembly, and member of the Central Committee and Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY. He is presently a member of the National Defense Council of the Presidency of the SFRY and an ex-officio member of the Federal Council for the Defense of the Constitutional Order, member of the LCY Central Committee, and member of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee.

Prior to this appointment he has served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and as Federal Secretary for National Defense.

Franjo Herljevic, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs



Born in 1915 in Tuzla. Croatian. Major general of the Yugoslav People's Army and national hero.

Joined the LCY in 1940 and SKOJ in 1932. Worked as a printer's mechanic until 1941. Graduated from the "Frunze" Higher Military Academy in the USSR.

Served as commander of the 38th Eastern Bosnia Division during the national liberation war. Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941."

Has served as a federal deputy and member of the Central Committee of the LC Bosnia-Hercegovina. He is a member of the LCY Central Committee, the National Defense Council of the Presidency of the SFRY, and the Federal Council for the Defense of the Constitutional Order.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and as Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs.

Petar Kostic, Federal Secretary for Finance



Born in 1928 in Suvodol, Smederevo Opstina. Serbian. Graduate of the Mechanical Engineering Faculty in Belgrade. Served formerly as general director of the Belgrade Cotton Combine, president of the Textile Industry Council of the Federal Economic Chamber, deputy of the Republic Council of the Assembly of the SR Serbia and member of the Republic Executive Council, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Republic Executive Council, president of the Economic Chamber of Serbia, member of the Presidency of the Republic Conference of the SSRN Serbia, and member of the National Defense Council of the Presidency of the SR Serbia.

Prior to this appointment he served as vice president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR Serbia.

Imer Pulja, Federal Secretary for Markets and General Economic Affairs

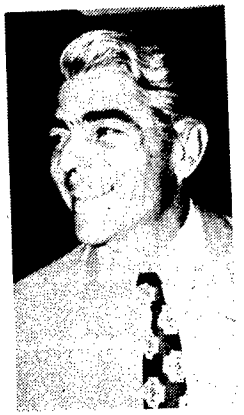


Born in 1921 in Dakovica, Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo. Albanian. Graduate of the Economics Faculty in Belgrade. Took part in the national liberation struggle starting in 1941. Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941." Member of the LCY since 1941.

Served formerly as commissioner of the Pec Military District, secretary of the Communist Party Municipal Committee of Dakovica, member of the Executive Council of AKMO [Autonomous Region of Kosovsko-Metohiska Oblast], director of the newspaper RILINDJA, vice president of the Provincial Assembly of SAP Kosovo, deputy to the Assembly of SR Serbia and to the Federal Assembly, member of the Executive Council of Kosovo and president of the Provincial Economic Chamber, Republic Secretary for Transportation and Communications, and member of the Federal Executive Council.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and Federal Secretary for Markets and Prices.

Luka Banovic, Federal Secretary for Justice and Federal Administrative Organization.



Born in 1926 in Ljubotinje, SR Montenegro. Montenegrin. Graduate of the "Duro Dakovic" Higher Party School and of the Law Faculty in Belgrade. Served formerly as a member of the Central Board of USOJ [Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia] of Montenegro, secretary and president of the Central Committee of the People's Youth Movement of Montenegro, member of the Central Committee and Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC Montenegro, member of the Organizational Commission of the LCY Central Committee, and secretary of the SSRN Yugoslavia Commission for Organizational and Membership Questions. He served as Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs until 1974.

Prior to this appointment he served as chairman of the Internal Affairs Policy Committee of the Federal Council.

Metod Rotar, Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade



Born in 1929 in Pristava, Trzic Ópstina, SR Slovenia. Slovenian. Graduate of the Higher Economics and Business School in Maribor. Took part in the national liberation struggle starting in 1943.

Served formerly as executive director of the enterprise "Iskra-commerce," chairman of the Executive Board of the Bank of Ljubljana, general director of the Bank of Ljubljana, and president of the Associated Banks of Yugoslavia. Prior to this appointment he served as chairman of the Business Council of the Associated Bank, Bank of Ljubljana.

Ismailj Bajra, Federal Secretary for Information



Born in 1929 in Istok, Pec Opstina, SAP Kosovo. Albanian. Graduate of the Higher Pedagogical School and the Higher School of Political Science.

Served formerly as a member of the Provincial Committee of the LC Kosovo and as chairman of its Commission for Cooperation Between Nationalities, member of the LCY Conference, member of the Commission for International Cooperation of the Central Committee of the LC Serbia, deputy to the Federal Assembly, and member of the Presidency of the SAP Kosovo.

Prior to this appointment he served as general director of Radio-Television Pristina.

Vice Presidents of the Federal Executive Council



**Branislav Ikonić**



**Ivo Margan**



**Andrej Marinc**

Branislav Ikonik

Born in 1928 in Gornje Crniljevo, Osecin Opstina. Serbian. Graduate of the Electrical Engineering Faculty in Belgrade. Served formerly

as director of the engineering division and as general director of the enterprise "Viskoza" in Loznica, vice president and president of the Republic Economic Chamber, vice president of the Federal Economic Chamber, and deputy to the Federal and Republic assemblies.

Prior to this appointment he served as vice president of the Assembly of the SR Serbia.

Ivo Margan

Born in 1926 in Bakar, SR Croatia. Croatian. Graduate of the Medical Faculty in Zagreb and holder of a post-graduate degree in public health. Took part in the national liberation struggle starting in 1943. Member of the LCY since 1948. Served formerly as secretary to the Medical Institutions Committee of the League of Communists organization of Zagreb University, member of the LC Municipal Committee of Rijeka, president of the Union of Health Care Institutions of Yugoslavia, member of the Republic Council of the SS Croatia, member of the Central Council of the SSRN Croatia, representative and vice president of the International Hospitals Federation, and member of the Central Committee and Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC Croatia.

Prior to this appointment he served as president of the Republic Conference of the SSRN Croatia.

Andrej Marinc

Born in 1930 in Celja, Slovenia. Slovenian. Graduate of the Agronomics Faculty in Ljubljana. Member of the LCY since 1947.

Served formerly as director of the Jelsingrad Agricultural Management Association, member of the Central Committee and Presidency of the Central Committee of the LC Slovenia, assembly deputy, and secretary to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the LC Slovenia. He was elected as a member of the Central Committee of the LCY at the Eighth Congress.

Prior to this appointment he served as president of the Executive Council of the SR Slovenia.



Dragoljub Stavrev

Dragoljub Stavrev .

Gojko Ubiparip

Born in 1932 in Skoplje. Macedonian. Graduate of the Law Faculty in Skoplje.

Served formerly as a member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the LC Macedonia, editor in chief of STUDENTSKI ZBOR,

member of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the People's Youth Movement of Yugoslavia, member of the Central Council of the SSRN Macedonia, president of the Skoplje Municipal Assembly, deputy to the Federal Assembly, and [a few works illegible].

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the LCY.

Gojko Ubiparip

Born in 1927 in Barici, Mrkonjic-grad Opstina, SR Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbian. Graduate of the Economics College in Zagreb.

Member of the LCY since 1948. As an active social-political worker he has been elected several times to leadership positions in the League of Communists and in the SSRN. He has served terms of office as a deputy to the Federal Assembly.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Federal Executive Council.

Member of the Federal Executive Council

Stojan Andov

Born in 1935 in Kavadarci, SR Macedonia. Macedonian. Graduate of the Economics Faculty in Skoplje and holder of a master's degree from the Faculty of Political Science.

Served formerly as a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the LC Macedonia, member of the Macedonian Economic Council, secretary to the Opstina Youth Movement Committee, and secretary to the Manufacturing Industries Committee of the League of Communists.

Prior to this appointment he also served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and as chairman of the Federal Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

Slobodan Gligoričević

Born in 1920 in Krusevac. Serbian. Graduate of the Economics Faculty in Belgrade with a doctoral degree in economics.

Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941." Member of the LCY since 1941.

Served formerly as a member of the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the SSRN Yugoslavia and deputy to the Federal Assembly, director of the Higher School of Political Science, general director of the National Bank of Yugoslavia headquarters for Serbia, member of the Republic Executive Council and vice president of the Social and Political Council of the Assembly of the SR Serbia.

Prior to this appointment he also served as a member of the Federal Executive Council.

Vuko Dragasević

Born in 1922 in Pljevlja. Montenegrin. Graduate of the Political School of the Central Committee of the LC Montenegro.

Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941." Member of SKOJ since 1939 and of the LCY since 1944.

Before the war he was an active participant in the secondary school students' movement, and during the national liberation struggle he served as a youth movement leader. During the postwar years he served as a member of the Executive Council of the SR Montenegro, deputy to the republic and federal assemblies, and as a member of the Executive Committee of the LC Montenegro Central Committee.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Presidency of the SR Montenegro.

Dusan Ilijević

Born in 1927 in Idvor, SAP Vojvodina. Serbian. Graduate of the Agricultural Faculty in Zemun and of the Law Faculty in Novi Sad.

Took part in the national liberation struggle starting in 1944. Member of the LCY since 1945.

Served formerly as an assembly deputy, member of the Secretariat of the LC Municipal Committee in Vrbas, chairman of the Scholarship Foundation of the AP Vojvodina, provincial secretary of the Secretariat for General Economic Affairs, deputy federal secretary for agriculture and forestry, and president of the Municipal Assembly of Novi Sad.

Prior to this appointment he also served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and as the chairman of the Federal Committee for the Power Industry and Manufacturing Industries.

Radoje Kontic

Born in 1937 in Strasevina, Niksic Opstina. Montenegrin. Graduate of the Technological Faculty.

He is presently a member of the LCY Central Committee and a member of the Socioeconomic Relations Development Commission of the Presidency of the LCY Central Committee. He is also a member of the Assembly and Economic Chamber of the SR Montenegro.

Prior to this appointment he served as assistant general director for technological and commercial affairs at the "Boris Kidric Ironworks" in Niksic.

Bogoljub Nedeljkovic

Born in 1920 in Gornje Selo, Prizren Opstina, SAP Kosovo. Serbian. Graduate of the Economics College.

Took part in the national liberation struggle and joined SKOJ in 1942. Served formerly as deputy to the Assembly of the SAP Kosovo during several terms of office, member of the Presidium of the Serbian Trade Union Movement, member of the Presidency of the VSSJ, member of the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the LC Kosovo, member of the Provincial Executive Council, and chairman of the Provincial Trade Unions Council of Kosovo.

Prior to this appointment he served as the president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SAP Kosovo.

Vajo Skendzic

Born in 1921 in Otocac, Sr Croatia. Graduate of the Mechanical Engineering Faculty in Zagreb.

Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941" and member of the LCY since 1941.

Served formerly as a member of the CP Croatia Municipal Committee in Otocac, political secretary of the CP Croatia Municipal Committee in Titova Korenica, CP Croatia Secretary for Lika, member of the LC Croatia Central Committee, member of the LCY Central Committee, assembly deputy, vice chairman of the Economic Council of the Federal Assembly, and vice chairman of the central council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions.

Prior to this appointment he also served as a member of the Federal Executive Council.

Boris Snuderl

Born in 1929 in Maribor. Slovenian. Graduate of the Law Faculty in Ljubljana. Took part in the national liberation struggle starting in 1943.

Served formerly as a member of the Federal Council of the SSRN Yugoslavia, secretary to the Foreign Trade Committee of the SR Slovenia, director of the enterprise "Splosna plovba" [Universal Navigation] in Piran, deputy federal secretary for foreign trade, member of the Federal Executive Council, and chairman of the Tourism Committee of the Federal Executive Council.

Prior to this appointment he served as chairman of the Foreign Economic Relations Committee of the Council of Republics and Provinces of the Assembly of the SFRY and as vice president of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia.

Sukrija Uzunovic

Born in 1920 in Zenica. Moslem. Graduate of the Economics Faculty in Sarajevo. Participant in the national liberation struggle and LCY member since 1941.

Served formerly as a division head in the Federal Planning Commission, head of the Economic Affairs Department in the Presidency of the government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, assistant general director of the National Bank of Bosnia-Hercegovina, director of the Republic Economic Planning Institute of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and as vice chairman of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Chairmen of the Federal Committees

Stojan Matkaliev, for the Power Industry and Manufacturing Industries

Born in 1926 in Skoplje, Macedonian. Took part in the national liberation struggle starting in 1941. Member of the LCY since 1945. Graduate of the Technological Faculty in Ljubljana.

Served formerly as the general director of the "Skoplje Ore Mining and Iron Works," and as vice president of the Economic Chamber of Macedonia.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Executive Committee of the Republic Council of Macedonia and as republic secretary for industry and trade.

Milovan Zidar, for Agriculture

Born in 1931 in Lemberg near Smarjah. Slovenian. University graduate with a degree in agronomy.

Served formerly as chairman of the Committee for Agriculture and Forestry of the Republic Executive Council, member of the Inter-republic Committee for Markets, member of the Commission for Socioeconomic Policy and Social Welfare Policy of the Central Committee of the LC Slovenia, and member of the Federal Conference of the SSRN Yugoslavia.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Executive Council of Slovenia and as republic secretary for agriculture, forestry, and the food industry.

Ante Zelic, for Transportation and Communications

Born in 1927 in Split. Croatian. Graduate of the Economics Faculty in Belgrade. Participant in the national liberation struggle starting in 1941 and LCY member since 1945.

Served formerly as the president of the Split Opstina Assembly, republic secretary for finance, deputy federal secretary for finance, chairman of the Foreign Economic Relations Committee, member of the Inter-republic Committee for Foreign Exchange Management, and member of the Federal Committee for Cooperation With Developing Countries.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR Croatia.

Svetozar Pepovski, for Labor, Health, and Social Welfare

Born in 1922 in Vrutok, SR Macedonia. Macedonian. Graduate of the Law Faculty in Skoplje.

Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941" and LCY member since 1942.

Served formerly as secretary to the CP Macedonia Local and District Committee for Gostivar, member of the Federal Conference of the SSRN Yugoslavia, general secretary of the Union of Health, Disability, and Retirement Insurance Communities, and deputy chairman of the Federal Labor Council.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and as chairman of the Federal Committee for Labor and Employment.

Milan Vukasovic, for Veteran and Disabled Veteran Affairs

Born in 1922 in the town of Ubla near Herceg Novi. Montenegrin. Holder of the decoration "Partisan Memorial 1941" and LCY member since 1942.

Served formerly as a member of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the SR Montenegro, organizational secretary of the Central Committee of the LC Montenegro, member of the LCY Central Committee, chairman of the Republic Trade Unions Council, president of the Assembly of the SR Montenegro, deputy to the Federal Assembly during several terms of office, and secretary to the Central Council of the League of Yugoslav Trade Unions.

Aleksandar Fira, for Legislation

Born in 1929 in Kragujevac. Serbian. Graduate of and holder of a doctoral degree from the Law Faculty in Belgrade.

Served formerly as member of the Provincial Committee of the LC Vojvodina and chairman of the Political Institutions Commission of the Central Committee of the LC Serbia, associate professor and full professor of the Law Faculty in Novi Sad, judge of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, president of the Constitutional Court of the SAP Vojvodina, and secretary of the Federal Executive Council Secretariat for Legislative and Legal Affairs.

Prior to this appointment he served as a member of the Federal Executive Council and as chairman of the Federal Committee for Legislation.

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